

OCT 18 1923

Anglican Theological Review



EDITED BY

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER, A. HAIRE FORSTER, FRANK H. HALLOCK
and FREDERICK C. GRANT

In Collaboration with Representative Scholars
throughout the Church

VOLUME VI

OCTOBER, 1923

NUMBER 2

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PUBLISHED BY

Columbia University Press

LANCASTER, PA.

AND

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Anglican Theological Review

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The REVIEW is published four times a year, in May, October, December and March, by the Columbia University Press, a corporation. The officers of the Press are Nicholas Murray Butler, president; Wm. H. Carpenter, secretary; and John B. Pine, treasurer. Subscription price, \$4.00 annually. Single numbers \$1.00. Subscriptions and all business communications should be addressed to the publishers, Columbia University Press, Prince and Lemon Streets, Lancaster, Pa., or Columbia University, New York, N. Y., U. S. A.

Entered as second-class matter, June 17, 1919, at the post office at Lancaster, Pa., under the act of March 3, 1879.

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THE UNKNOWN MARTYR: A STUDY OF ZECHARIAH 11 AND 12 *

By G. A. COOKE, Christ Church, Oxford

Zechariah 12, 9. 10.

And it shall come to pass in that day that I will seek
To destroy all the nations
Which come against Jerusalem.
And I will pour upon the house of David,
And upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem,
A spirit of grace and supplication;
And they shall look upon him whom they have pierced;¹
And they shall wail for him, as one wailleth for his only son;
And cry bitterly for him, as one crieth for his first born.

* The University Sermon, delivered in St. Mary the Virgin, Oxford, on the Fourth Sunday after Easter, 1923.

¹ The Hebrew text has, "And they shall look unto me, even him whom(?) they have pierced." The reading of the text אֵלֶי אֶת אֲשֶׁר is ungrammatical and corrupt. Some 50 Hebr. MSS. give אֵלָיו אֶת אֲשֶׁר "unto him whom," but even then אֵלֶי אֶת אֲשֶׁר after אֵלָיו can hardly be right. The simplest correction is to read אֵלֶי אֲשֶׁר. The Greek text has καὶ ἐπιβλέψονται πρὸς μὲ ἀνθ' ὧν κατωρχήσαντο, following the Massoretic text; πρὸς υἷον = אֵלֶי ἀνθ' ὧν a vague equivalent for אֵלֶי אֲשֶׁר, and κατωρχήσαντο a fantastic transposition of דָּקְרוּ they have pierced into דָּקְרוּ they have danced (!). But the Greek translation varies. Instead of ἀνθ' ὧν a series of MSS. (=the Lucianic recension) substitutes εἰς δὲ; and κατωρχήσαντο was early felt to be a mistake, and altered to ἐξεκέντησαν (so ἌΣΘ). Finally, in John 19, 37 the sentence is quoted in the form δψονται εἰς δὲ ἐξεκέντησαν, which agrees exactly with none of the Greek readings, but represents the most probable form of the Hebrew original.

It is the day of a great deliverance. All the forces of heathendom, gathered to destroy the Holy City, have been annihilated outside the walls. God has saved His own; and Judah and Jerusalem must be saved, if ever the divine purpose is to be carried out.

Then all at once we are transported to a surprising scene within the walls: an act of national mourning! There, in the midst of a people overwhelmed with self-reproach, lies the bleeding martyr whom their own hands have done to death. He must have been one whose rank and character were known to all for his death to have roused the whole community to wailing and bitter cries, from the highest to the lowest, every family without exception. A common passion has seized them all: "A spirit of grace and supplication," that is, an impulse moving them to supplicate for grace, and obtain pardon for a national crime. How keenly the guilt was felt may be judged from the grief which it excited, the most bitter that can be imagined, like the wailing for an only son or for a first born. The prophet does not scruple to compare it with "the wailing for Hadad-rimmon in the vale of Megiddo," a heathen rite, we may suppose, one of those ceremonies of lamentation which bewailed the annual death of the god or hero, of Tammuz or Adonis; indeed the very language of the prophet seems to imitate, by its monotonous repetitions, the form of the pagan dirge.²

But this was no imaginary grief or fanciful religious rite.

² 12, 10. 11. 12-14; cf. Ez. 8, 14. Jer. 22, 18. For the Babylonian lamentations see Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the O.T.*, 179-185; Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 9 ff. Though no deity bearing the compound name Hadad-rimmon is mentioned elsewhere, Hadad and Rimmon were gods well known to the Hebrews, e.g., the proper names Hadad-ezer 2 Sam. 8, 3 ff., Ben-hadad 1 Kings 20, 1 etc.; for Rimmon see 2 K. 5, 18. The LXX. in Zech. 12, 11 recognizes only *Rimmon*; and this may be the original reading. Since Jerome's time Hadad-rimmon has been taken to be the name of a place; but the parallelism ("like the wailing over an only son") is against this. When a *place* is named, we find "the wailing in Jerusalem." Baudissin, however, thinks that Hadad-rimmon = the place now called Rummâne, near Ta'anuk, S.W. of the plain of Megiddo, where dirges for Hadad or Rimmon may have been sung; *Adonis und Esmun*, 91 f.

An iniquity which involved the whole people had been perpetrated, and they knew it, and their punishment was to "look upon him whom they had pierced." We may think of him as the leading man of his age, charged with an office of responsibility, battling against unfair odds, thwarted in his efforts for the common good, outworn at last in the cause of righteousness, and dying before his time, pierced through with wounds by evil men.

Who was the martyr whose death aroused such cries of penitence and grief? It is difficult to give an answer at once, and the difficulty is increased by an accidental dislocation of the text. That can be mended, however; and by reading the present chapter in combination with what precedes and follows it, we can discover, I believe, the lineaments of the person whom the prophet has in mind. It is worth while to try, at any rate, omitting the less important details.³

As the text stands, we are quite unprepared for the pathetic scene in which the dead hero forms the centre; it is implied that his career and violent end have been told already; and when we turn back to the preceding chapter, and transfer to it the section which has accidentally gone astray, we find the story given. Under the form of an allegory, the prophet imagines himself summoned to play the part of a shepherd, and to feed "the flock of slaughter,"⁴ the nation, that is, which has incurred God's wrath and must be punished. At first, however, let mercy prevail! Let an experiment be made in honest government, and the people be rid of their native shepherds, the rulers who buy and sell them for gain—"traffickers of the flock,"⁵ the prophet

³ Read the text in the following order: II, 4-17. 13, 7-9. 12, 1-14.

⁴ II, 4 ff.

⁵ For לִבְנֵי הָעֵצִי read לִבְנֵי הָעֵצִי LXX. *els rhy xavaaviriv*; they are the persons referred to in v. 5. So in v. 11 for פְּנֵי הָעֵצִי read פְּנֵי הָעֵצִי LXX. *ol xavaavoi*. The word פְּנֵי *lit. Canaanite* was used as a name for a merchant or pedlar, because the tradesman was generally a Phoenician (= Canaanite); Is. 29, 8. Hos. 12, 7. Zeph. 1, 11. Prov. 31, 24; cf. Neh. 13, 16. In v. 8 "And I cut off three shepherds in one month" interrupts the context; note "my soul was weary of them" (v. 8 b) clearly refers to the sheep of v. 7.

calls them in contempt. Accordingly, the shepherd takes for his task two staves, one called "Graciousness," and the other "Bonds"; for God would try whether it were possible to govern His people by showing them favour, and binding them into one nation; the shepherd, we notice, if not God Himself, acts and speaks as the representative of God. But the people will not respond to his efforts; on each side the relations become strained; at length, in despair, the shepherd breaks the staff called "Graciousness," and the act is recognized by those who are looking on as a sign that God has withdrawn His favour, and "my covenant is broken"—God's pledge to keep Israel safe from invasion by the heathen.⁶ When insult is added to ingratitude, the shepherd asks the people for his wages, now that he has thrown up his occupation; and they pay him a paltry sum, the amount due for the maiming of a slave, thirty pieces of silver,⁷ and he is told to cast it into the temple treasury⁸—"the splendid price at which they prized me." As a final act he breaks the staff called "Binders," and leaves the people to their fate: feuds within, and a hostile world without, and the judgment drawing near. The people are handed over to a worthless shepherd, greedy and oppressive: in due season the sword deals with him as he deserves. But the sword reaches further, and falls where it is least deserved:

Sword, awake against my shepherd,
Even against the man that is my friend
—so says the lord of Hosts—
Smite the shepherd, and let the sheep be scattered!⁹

The first half of *v.* 8 was added later to introduce perhaps a reference to three dynasties or empires = three periods of history, such as Assyria, Babylon, Persia; *cf.* the four kingdoms in *Dan.* 2, 36-44. 7, 7 ff.; but the exact meaning of the interpolated passage is obscure.

⁶ 11, 10, alluding to the "covenant" in *Ez.* 34, 25-27.

⁷ *Exodus* 21, 32.

⁸ 11, 13 *bis.* For *אֶל־הַיּוֹצֵר* unto the potter read *אֶל־הַמְּצֹרֵר* unto the treasury, with *Pesh.*, *Targ.*, and Jewish commentators. This emendation is confirmed by the words which follow: "so I cast it into Yahweh's house." Curiously both readings are adopted in *Mt.* 27, 6. 10.

⁹ 13, 7, following 11, 17.

The sin and ingratitude of men work out their infamous result, and God does not intervene to stop it! The best and wisest of his time, the one man who stood for righteousness, undergoes not only martyrdom, but the hardest trial of all—"to serve God, and yet receive chastisement at His hand," exposed to failure, ignominy, and death.¹⁰ Yet a martyr's death like this could not end in failure; it worked the change which nothing else could do, no exhibition of God's "graciousness," no appeal to the "bonds" of brotherhood. Now the people's eyes are opened, and they realize their crime. They turn to God in penitence; they supplicate for grace. And it would seem that their change of temper is accepted; for the moment when they own their guilt is the moment when "a fountain is opened for the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem for sin and uncleanness."¹¹ The land is purged of idolatry; the practitioners of spurious prophecy and magic are swept away in disgrace. So far as outward danger went, Israel had been marvellously spared when the heathen made their assault; now the inward reformation follows. Penitence brings cleansing; purged and reformed, Israel becomes capable of accomplishing the purpose of God.

Such is the way in which the author of these prophecies, whom we may call the Second Zechariah, reflected upon the circumstances of the time, and shaped his hopes for the coming of a better day. He was writing, we may believe, at the beginning of the 4th century, during the distracted period which followed the death of Alexander the Great, when Palestine was trampled by the rival armies of the Ptolemies from Egypt and the Seleucid kings of Syria. It was an age of insecurity and hardship; and, as we know from the meagre histories of the time, the Jewish community was torn by faction and undermined by paganism, and religious life ran low.¹² A faithful few, however, nourished their souls on the great prophetic promises, looking for a fulfilment which never seemed to arrive; at the same time their experi-

¹⁰ See Gore, *Belief in Christ*, 72. 298.

¹¹ 13, 1-6, following 12, 14.

¹² See Schürer, *Geschichte*³ iii., 19 ff.; Driver, *Daniel*, xxxiv-xxxvi.

ence of the painful and disappointing facts of life led them to give a new turn to the traditional hopes: the only way in which deliverance could be imagined was by means of one who would consent to sacrifice himself utterly, and even though he had to die, through his death transform the people's disposition.

By this time the ancient line of the prophets had come to an end, and their place was taken, in some measure, by the apocalyptic writers, who mainly concerned themselves with final issues, especially in connexion with the future of Israel. The Second Zechariah may be classed with these. He contemplates the situation, not as the old prophets would have done, but from the point of view of "that day"—the phrase is repeated 9 times in chapters 12 and 13—the day of visitation and catastrophe, after which the blessed age begins. We have to do, then, with an apocalypse. The martyrdom of the shepherd is an ideal conception, and we must not expect to identify him with any particular person in contemporary history; we are to interpret the prophet as imparting his reflexions on the far-reaching themes of providence, and national sin, and the way of recovery, and how God's purpose is to be accomplished.¹³

Like other religious teachers of the class, he takes over his leading ideas from the ancient prophets, in this case chiefly from Ezekiel, who, turning from the evil shepherds of the day, looked forward to the appearance of a good shepherd, a second David, in the future. It was Ezekiel who first used the symbol of the two sticks and made them one in his hand; who pictured Israel

¹³ So Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch* (1922), 510–512. The general interpretation of these chs. of Zechariah owes much to Sellin's new commentary, a work of remarkable insight and judgment. Ed. Meyer, *Ursprung u. Anfänge des Christentums* ii. (1921), 5 f., takes the same view of the date and character of these chs. as Sellin. It is noticeable, as Sellin points out, that the two chs. which precede ch. 11, and the two chs. which follow, deal with eschatology; naturally, therefore, ch. 11 must be interpreted in the same sense. What appear to be allusions to contemporary history are later additions, adapting the prophecies to the circumstances of a subsequent age (11, 6. 8a. 12, 2 "and also against Judah," 5. 7 Judah as distinct from and hostile to Jerusalem). In the original prophecy Judah and Jerusalem form one whole, alike exposed to the heathen invasion.

sprinkled with clean water, endowed with a new spirit, secure in a covenant of peace, and established in a perfect relationship with God, in the blessed age soon to come.¹⁴ But the blessed age had not come; Ezekiel's prophecy had not been fulfilled. The scheme of redemption had been announced, but it was delayed by the inveterate sinfulness of the people. Something must happen before the day of bliss could dawn, some dreadful act of judgment, something to rouse a sense of guilt and a change of heart. Ezekiel had foreseen a vast invasion of the heathen into the land of Israel, and defeated only by almighty power.¹⁵ Israel must indeed be spared, but spared, says the Second Zechariah, in order to turn to God in a new and chastened temper. And that can only be brought about through the death of their ruler, God's representative. Then the fountain will be opened, and the land purged, and the faithful remnant, purified as by fire, will become the true people of God: "I will say, it is my people; and they shall say, the Lord is my God."¹⁶

This profound conception of what alone can save the nation and change its heart finds a close parallel in the description of the Servant of the Lord in Isaiah 53, "the smitten of God and afflicted"; his sufferings, you remember, are accounted for as being vicarious, borne for the sake of others; it is his self-sacrifice which makes many righteous; in his person and career Israel fulfils its mission to the world.

These are the two most impressive embodiments of an idea which continued to be cherished by spiritual minds in times of persecution and general decline. We meet with it in some of the Psalms, such as the 22d and the 69th; it seems to be moving in the background of the Book of Job. Outside the Bible, something like it finds expression in those works of the Greek genius which sound the depths of human life, such as the legend of Prometheus, and the narratives of the death of Socrates.

¹⁴ See Ez. 34, 2 ff. 37, 15 ff. 36, 25-27.

¹⁵ See Ez. 38 and 39. The genesis of Second Zechariah's ideas is clearly shown by Sellin, l.c., 511.

¹⁶ Zech. 13, 9.

But the supreme realization of the idea in history is the Passion of Jesus Christ. No wonder that the Evangelists recollect what our prophet had said: "I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered abroad"; "and I took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was priced . . . and gave them for the potter's field"; "they shall look on him whom they pierced."¹⁷

We are told that those who crucified Him, mocking, said, "Let him now come down from the cross, and we will believe on him";¹⁸ but that was exactly what He refused to do. He would obey, without relief, that law of human life which demands suffering as the price of remedy; He would undergo the hardest trial of all, serve God with absolute devotion, and yet, in His extremity, receive no sign of recognition—"my God, my God, why didst thou forsake me."

In contrast, however, to those who mocked, sinful men and women ever since have found in the Passion of Christ an inexpressible consolation and hope; for they recognize in it an act of sacrifice offered by the just for the unjust, which turns sinners into penitents, and brings them into right relationship with God.

As we look on Him who has been pierced, we begin to realize that the Cross is something more than an episode of the past; it is the symbol of a continuous tragedy—of all that the righteous suffer at the hands of the enemies of goodness. It stands out, compelling attention, in the midst of an age-long effort which we can trace in human history, that upward striving of good men and brave men, who have scorned their ease and chosen hardship, even death, in order to uphold the right and pass it on, for God's sake and the sake of their brethren. These are the deliverers of the race; prophets and wise men, the Perfect Man Himself, bear a testimony that is unanimous.

Please God, we take sides with the great succession which has been striving all along in the cause of righteousness. If we do so, we must expect to suffer for it; but we see now what, by God's

¹⁷ Mt. 26, 31. 27, 9. Jn. 19, 37.

¹⁸ Mt. 27, 42.

ordinance, suffering may become—a way to reach the heart and reform the life of the world around us. No disinterested act of sacrifice is lost, or fails to bear its fruit. The self-denying toil of the student, the devotion of the college tutor, the care of the pastor for his flock, the faithful perseverance of the school teacher and the social worker, the patriotic statesman's singleness of aim: there is pain in all this self-forgetful effort, but there is also a redemptive value; it is the means which God uses for working out His purpose for mankind.

We have seen how near the prophet's allegory brings us to the New Testament, a long way, but not the whole distance. And the reason why it just stops short seems to be this. According to the highest teaching of the O.T. the deliverer of the nation dies in God's cause; in the N.T. He dies, but He lives again. It makes all the difference. He lives to bestow a new assurance and a new power. For the Resurrection of Christ assures us that the forces of goodness and truth are bound to prevail in the end, however formidable the principalities of evil may be. And from His risen life those very forces of goodness and truth flow into our lives; the power of His Resurrection raises the sacrifice demanded of us from the constraint of a necessity, or grim endurance of hardship, into an offering made with good-will and freshness. Our self-love passes more and more into the love of God and of our brother. Feeble and insignificant as our effort may be, yet it may become something without which even the sufferings of Christ would be incomplete,¹⁹ as we persevere in the cause of God, which is the redemption of human life.

¹⁹ Col. I, 24.

ST. AUGUSTINE'S DOCTRINE OF THE STATE IN RELATION TO SOME MODERN THEORIES OF SOVEREIGNTY

By ARTHUR ADAMS, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.

Any discussion of the State in relation to Augustine's thought must concern itself primarily, though it must not do so exclusively, with what is certainly in many respects the most significant work of one of the most significant figures in the history of Western Christianity—the *De Civitate Dei*. The greatness of this work does not manifest itself immediately to even a careful reader. He is perhaps more impressed by its apparent formlessness, its lack of coherence, its discursiveness, its curious reasoning,—in a word, by its seeming lack of purpose, and its failure to reach a goal. The work on a first reading fails to come up to the anticipations aroused by what one has read of its significance and influence. Such at least was the writer's impression when eighteen or twenty years ago, as a student of mediæval literature, he first became acquainted with it. If he had not had occasion to go back to it for other purposes, such doubtless would be his permanent feeling in regard to it.

A brief statement of the occasion and purpose, and of the contents of the work, may not be altogether otiose for our purpose.

Like most of St. Augustine's writings, the *De Civitate Dei* had a definite occasion and a definite purpose. Its occasion was the sacking of Rome, the eternal city, by the Goths under Alaric in 410. This event can be compared in its effect on the minds of men only with the effect produced in our time by the World War. The very foundations of civilization seemed to be swept away. After a thousand years or more of steady extension and consolidation of power, Rome had fallen before the barbarian. It is small wonder that even Christians believed this event to be the beginning of the end of the world.

The heathen brought the charge that this calamity was due to the abandonment by the Romans of the Old Gods. They said, "This horror would not have been, had we stood by the ancient ways. The mad policy of the Emperors in prohibiting sacrifice to the gods has produced its inevitable nemesis. The sack of Rome is the judgment of Jove."

In the "Retractations" (II:43), Augustine himself tells us the occasion of the work, and gives us an outline of its plan. "Rome having been stormed and sacked by the Goths under Alaric their King, the worshippers of false gods, or pagans, as we commonly call them, made an attempt to attribute this calamity to the Christian Religion, and began to blaspheme the true God with even more than wonted bitterness and acerbity. It was this which kindled my zeal for the house of God, and prompted me to undertake the defence of the city of God against the charges and misrepresentation of its assailants.

"This work was in my hands for several years (413-426), owing to the interruptions occasioned by many other affairs that had a prior claim on my attention, and which I could not defer. However, this great undertaking was at last completed in twenty-two books. Of these the first five refute those who fancy that the polytheistic worship is necessary in order to secure worldly prosperity, and that all these overwhelming calamities have befallen us in consequence of its prohibition. In the following five books, I address myself to those who admit that such calamities have at all times attended, and will at all times attend, the human race, and that they constantly recur in forms more or less disastrous, varying only in the scenes, occasions, and persons on whom they light, but, while admitting this, maintain that the worship of the gods is advantageous for the life to come. In these ten books, then, I refute these two opinions which are as groundless as they are antagonistic to the Christian religion.

"But that no one might have occasion to say, that though I had refuted the tenets of other men, I had omitted to establish my own, I devote to this object the second part of this work,

which comprises twelve books, although I have not scrupled, as occasion offered, either to advance my own opinions in the first ten books, or to demolish the arguments of my opponents in the last twelve. Of these twelve books, the first four contain an account of the origin of these two cities—the city of God, and the city of the world. The second four treat of their history and progress, the third and last four, of their deserved destinies. And so, though all these twenty-two books refer to both cities, yet I have named them after the better city, and called them the City of God.”

Much of the difficulty in understanding Augustine's thought, and certainly he has not infrequently been grossly misunderstood, is due to the failure to grasp what Augustine meant by his two “civitates.” Ordinarily, perhaps it is not too much to say, *civitas terrena* has been understood to mean the State and *civitas Dei*, the Church. Then, all that is said concerning the *civitas terrena* has been applied to the State and all said of the *civitas Dei* to the Church. This is altogether too simple and does great injustice to Augustine. He was not developing a theory of Church and State. Others have used his work and the implications of his thought for this purpose—sometimes doubtless with results that would have astonished the Saint, and that he would have repudiated with indignation. Ritschel, following Dörner, holds that Augustine regarded civil government as the organization of sin. It would seem to me that such views can rest only on a very inadequate reading of the *De Civitate Dei*, and believing the best way to arrive at an understanding of Augustine's thought is to permit him to be his own interpreter, I shall adduce some passages that seem to me to bring out Augustine's conception of the nature of the two cities clearly:

In the first chapter of Book XIV, Augustine says: “And thus it has come to pass, that though there are very many and great nations all over the earth, whose rites and customs, speech, arms, and dress, are distinguished by marked differences, yet there are no more than *two kinds of human society*, which we may justly

call *two cities*, according to the language of our Scriptures. The *one* consists of those *who wish to live after the flesh*, the other those *who wish* to live after the spirit, and when they severally achieve what they wish, they live in *peace*, each after their kind."

Perhaps the most important single passage for arriving at an understanding of Augustine's conception of the *two cities* and of their relations is the seventeenth chapter of Book XIX: It is so much to the point that I can not refrain from quoting it almost in full:

"But the families which *do not* live by faith *seek their peace* in the earthly advantage of this life; while the families which live by faith look for those eternal blessings which are promised, and use as pilgrims such advantages of time and of earth as do not fascinate and divert them from God, but rather, *aid* them to endure with greater ease, and to keep down the number of those burdens of the corruptible body which weigh upon the soul. Thus the things necessary for this mortal life are used by both kinds of men and families alike, but each has its own peculiar and widely different aim in using them. The earthly city, which does not live by faith, seeks an earthly peace, and the end it proposes, in the well-ordered concord of civil obedience and rule, is the combination of men's wills to attain the things which are helpful to this life; the *heavenly city*, or rather the part of it which sojourns on earth and lives by faith, makes use of this peace only because it must, until this mortal condition which necessitates it shall pass away. Consequently, so long as it lives like a captive and a stranger in the earthly city, though it has already received the promise of redemption, and the gift of the Spirit as the earnest of it, it makes no scruple to obey the laws of the earthly city, whereby the things necessary for the maintenance of this mortal life are administered; and thus, as this life is common to both cities, so there is a harmony between them in regard to what belongs to it. . . . Even the heavenly city, therefore, while in its state of pilgrimage, avails itself of the peace of the earth, and, so far as it can without injuring faith and godliness, de-

sires and maintains a common agreement among men regarding the acquisition of the necessities of life and makes this earthly peace bear upon the peace of heaven; for this alone can be truly called and esteemed the peace of the reasonable creatures, consisting as it does in the perfectly ordered and harmonious enjoyment of God and of one another in God. When we shall have reached that peace, this mortal life shall give place to one that is eternal. . . . In its pilgrim state the heavenly city possesses this peace by faith; and by this faith it lives righteously when it refers to the attainment of that peace every good action towards God and man; for the life of the City is a *social life*."

Here there is certainly nothing to support the theory of hostility to the State. Rather the State is regarded as potentially at least aiding toward the attainment of the peace of the heavenly city. Each city has its distinctive place and function.

In Chapter 4 of Book XV the ends for which the *civitas terrena* strives are specifically declared good and the gifts of God: "But the things which this city desires can not justly be said to be evil, for it is itself, in its own kind, better than all other human good. . . . These things, then, are good things, and without doubt the gifts of God. But if they neglect the better things of the heavenly city, which are secured by eternal victory and peace never-ending, and so inordinately covet these present good things that they believe them to be the only desirable things, or love them better than those things which are believed to be better;—if this be so, then it is necessary that misery follow and ever increase."

It is obvious that the *civitas terrena* is not at all to be identified with the State; only partially and for certain functions is the State its representative.

Other passages might be adduced in support of this contention that in Augustine we have no hostility to the State—passages such as the well-known "Mirror of Princes" (v. 24) and the series of passages (III. 10; IV. 3, 15) condemning the lust for power and great empires. Augustine believes in something like the league of nations, and dislikes the tyranny of strong nations

over weak. He enunciates a sort of doctrine of self-determination: "all kingdoms would have been small, rejoicing in neighborly concord; and thus there would have been very many kingdoms of nations in the world, as there are very many houses of citizens in the city."

How can any one, then, interpret the *De Civitate Dei* as teaching that the State is evil in itself? Augustine does indeed contrast the *civitas terrena* unfavorably with the *civitas Dei*. He does teach that all earthly activities and goods have value only in the service of God. In other words, his doctrine is Christian. So far as there is any condemnation of the State in Augustine's view, it is that it has no aim and no vision beyond the things of this world. By this fact its significance is limited. Yet, its usefulness and indeed its necessity in the world are clearly recognized and conceded.

What then of the Church? What is its nature, and what its relation to the *civitas Dei*? Here again we must guard ourselves against the assumption that everything predicated by Augustine of the *civitas Dei* can be applied to the Church. *Civitas Dei* is a much wider term than Church. It is the *communio sanctorum*, the whole body of the elect, including many of pre-Christian times and some outside of the communion of the Visible Church. The Church Militant on the other hand has in its communion some who are not of the elect, and who are really of the *civitas terrena*. The Visible Church, nevertheless, is the representative of the *civitas Dei*, however imperfectly and inadequately it may embody it. Pragmatically, then, to use a modern term, Augustine seems to identify the *civitas Dei* and the Church, though passages in which the *ecclesia* and the *civitas Dei* are identified are few and far between. This identification seems to be made specifically in Book XVIII, Chapter 29: "Isaiah, then, together with his rebukes of wickedness, precepts of righteousness, and predictions of evil, also prophesies much more than the rest about Christ and the Church, that is, about the King and that city which he founded; so that some say he should be called

an evangelist rather than a prophet." Many similar passages might be quoted in which he speaks of Christ and the Church in much the same way, but without the explanatory clause. Speaking of the millennial kingdom, however, he says: "For leaving out of account that kingdom concerning which He shall say in the end, 'Come, ye blessed of my Father, take possession of the kingdom prepared for you,' the Church could *not now* be called His kingdom (regnum) or the kingdom of heaven unless His saints were even now reigning with Him, though in another and far different way. . . . Therefore, the Church even now is the kingdom of Christ, and the Kingdom of Heaven."

Perhaps Cunningham puts the case too strongly, yet I believe he is substantially right when he says that "for St. Austin the kingdom of God was not a mere hope, but a present reality; not a mere name for a divine idea, but an institution, duly organized among men, subsisting from one generation to another; closely interconnected with earthly rule, with definite guidance to give, and a definite part to take, in all the affairs of actual life. To him the Kingdom of God was an actual polity, just as the Roman Empire was a Polity too; it was 'visible' in just the same way as the earthly state, for it was a real institution with a definite organization, with a recognized constitution, with a code of laws and means of enforcing them, with property for its uses, and officers to direct it" (*S. Austin and his Place in the History of Christian Thought*, page 116). But this makes too little of Augustine's idealism. The Church may have been all this to him, but it would be a gross error to assume that the *civitas Dei* was nothing more. Reuter's idea that Augustine has in mind in such passages as I have quoted only the "invisible" Church—to use a term St. Augustine would hardly have understood—the *communio sanctorum*—would perhaps be a less gross perversion of the mind of our Saint. It is true, as Reuter says, that of all early writers hardly any other is so little hierarchically minded as St. Augustine. He seems to take little interest in hierarchical topics. He has mighty little to say about the bishops—the Epis-

copate—and less about the Pope, and yet he doubtless accepted St. Cyprian's theory of the place of the episcopate in the Church. What St. Augustine does lay stress on is the unity, the catholicity, the bigness of the Church. Whatever may have been his theory as to the best size of states, to his mind there could be only one Church. Certainly the idea of the Church was central in St. Augustine's thought, and it was the historical church, an organized hierarchically governed body—the Catholic Church—in which he found rest for his soul after much spiritual wandering and experimentation. Nor does his theory of predestination seem to have affected his belief in the visible Church—no more did Calvin's—however impossible it may be theoretically or logically to reconcile the two conceptions.

This much, then, concerning Augustine's view of the Church is certainly true: he conceived of it as a distinct entity, distinct from the State, and not subordinate to it—with its own life and principles of growth and development. To establish this is sufficient for our present purpose.

Let us now examine the question of the relations of Church and State, as Augustine conceived them, in terms of modern political philosophy, *i.e.*, in respect to theories of sovereignty. It would be interesting to trace the influence of St. Augustine on political ideas of the Middle Ages, but to do so would take us too far afield, and after all, this is rather a study of what men read into Augustine than of legitimate inferences from things he did actually believe or say. Our purpose now is not so much to trace the influence of Augustine as to apply modern conceptions to his theories.

Modern political philosophy may perhaps be said to begin with Machiavelli. He was opposed to the mediæval conception of religion and the Church as the culmination of civilization. He rebelled against the theory that government existed for spiritual ends and was a means to right religion. The essence of his theory may perhaps be expressed with sufficient completeness for our purpose in this proposition: "(1) The State, whether repub-

lic or monarchy, exists for its own sake, lives its own life, aims at its own preservation and advantage, and is not bound by the obligations which determine and should determine the actions of private persons" (Lord, "Principles of Politics," page 18). For him the State is outside the realm of moral relations. If cruelty and treachery are useful, no hesitation is to be felt in using them. The means are indifferent, for the end justifies the means. In one form or another, implicitly or explicitly, Machiavelli's doctrine lies at the root of most modern political theory. The orthodox view of sovereignty, as it may perhaps not improperly be called, is a legitimate inference from Machiavelli's theory, and perhaps first finds expression in the writings of Bodin, a French lawyer of the sixteenth century. He affirms that the State—for him, the French King—is above all human laws and that this sovereignty is susceptible of neither division nor limitation. He does admit the sovereign's responsibility to God, but holds the injustice of a sovereign's commands does not absolve the subject from obedience.

This doctrine was adopted, with modifications, by Hobbes, and was developed by Bentham and Locke. Not to go into the history of the development, the doctrine assumed the form in which we find it stated in the writings of John Austin. As summarized by Burgess, the Austinian doctrine is thus stated: "What now do we mean by this all-important term and principle, the sovereignty? I understand by it original, absolute, unlimited, universal power over the individual subject and over all associations of subjects. . . . Power can not be sovereign if it be limited; and not until we reach the power which is unlimited, or only self-limited, have we attained to sovereignty."

According to this theory, all and every right is the creation of the one sovereign, and exists only by his or its will. No individual or society can plead any right against this authority, which is absolute and without any legal limitation. To talk of rights as against the sovereign power is to talk nonsense. This theory found perhaps its fullest realization in States like Russia and the German Empire before the War.

What would have been St. Augustine's attitude toward such a theory of the State? Indeed, this is no idle question, for the age of persecution was not so long past that its meaning and lessons should have been forgot. The real reason for the persecutions was the attitude of the Roman Government towards all societies not of its own creation—Christianity was a *religio illicita*. The Church claimed a life of her own, denied that she owed her existence to the State, and gave her life-blood in the maintenance of her principle and her claim to independent and self-determined activity.

Doubtless Augustine would have gone to his death as dauntlessly as Cyprian in defence of the same principle. But times had changed, and so far was St. Augustine from admitting the claim of the State to domination over the Church that he has been accused of setting up a doctrine of Church-sovereignty over the State. Doubtless some of his theories and acts did aid in the development of the mediæval theory of the Papal power, though the inferences drawn from them are not necessary inferences, and probably they never so much as occurred to him from the magic of whose great name they derived much authority.

The whole history of the Christian Church from the days of the Neronian persecution to Bismarck and the *Kultur-kampf* is a refutation of this doctrine of sovereignty almost universally accepted by writers on political theory to the present day, and still the dominant theory, though, as we shall see, it is being aggressively attacked from various sides on many grounds, for, of course, this question of the right of a society to a life of its own independent of a grant from the State affects not only the Church but all other organizations of men. Men are members of a family, alumni of colleges, members of all sorts of religious, social, economic, and professional associations. Has no one of these a right to existence save as this privilege is granted freely or grudgingly by the State? Let the State attempt to lay violent hands on any religious, political, or economic society, and we shall soon see that sovereignty as conceived by political theorists of the

Austinian school simply does not exist and probably never did exist for any considerable time in any nation. The theory is a foundationless structure conceived without reference to patent facts. No such theory would have satisfied an Augustine who, although an idealist, yet lived and moved in a world of whose activities he was never forgetful.

Another conception of sovereignty has been developed in recent years in opposition to the orthodox theory of Hobbes, Locke, and Austin. Some of the more important names in the history of this movement are Gierke in Germany, Deguit in France, Graham Wallas, Maitland, Bosanquet, and Cole in England, and Laski in the United States. Time forbids any extended survey of their theories and of the considerations advanced in support of them. One or two quotations from Laski must suffice: "But, it may be objected, in such a view sovereignty means no more than the ability to secure assent. I can only reply to the objection by admitting it. There is no sanction for law other than the consent of the human mind. It is sheer illusion to imagine that the authority of the State has any other safeguards than the wills of its members. For the State, as I have tried to show, is simply what Mr. Graham Wallas calls a will-organization, and the essential feature of such a thing is its ultimate dependence upon the constituent wills from which the group will is made. To argue that the State is degraded by such a reduction in no wise alters, so far as I can see, the fact that this is its essential nature. We have only to look at the realities of social existence to see clearly that the State does not enjoy any necessary preëminence for its demands. That must depend entirely upon the nature of the demands it makes. I shall find again and again that my allegiance is divided between the different groups to which I belong. It is the nature of the particular difficulty that decides my action." (*Problem of Sovereignty*, p. 14.)

"There are obviously social relationships that can not be expressed through the State. It may be true that man's nature is

determined by the environment in which he lives, but that environment is not merely a State-creation. No one would claim in England, for example, that the Roman Catholic Church is a part of the State; but it is yet obvious that it acts upon its members as a social determinant. The family is an institution of society, and no one will doubt that the State may affect it; but it is not merely a part of the State. The State is concerned only with those social relations that express themselves by means of government. . . . But immediately it is believed that there are relationships that in fact escape its purview, it becomes obvious that the State is only a species of a larger genus, and the nature of its special problems begins to emerge. For churches, trade-unions, and a thousand other associations are all societies. They refuse absorption by the State and thereby raise, sometimes in acute form, the definition of their connection with it. Churches, certainly, have denied to the State any absolute sovereignty, by which they mean that the canons of their life are not subject to the control of its instruments. Trade unions have been hardly less defiant. The State, indeed, has rarely hesitated to claim paramount authority, even if, on the occasions of conflict, it has not been overwhelmingly successful." (*Authority in the Modern State*, pages 26-27.)

One can not be sure that St. Augustine would have understood what all this is about, or that if he had, he would have given unqualified assent to the theory of the "pluralistic state" as it is called, but we may be quite sure that this theory fits the facts as they existed in St. Augustine's time better than the older theory.

It provides room for the development and functioning of the *regnum Dei*, the Church, as he conceived it, as an independent autonomous *civitas Dei* in a State performing its proper function of guaranteeing the peace of the *civitas terrena*. The theory provides for the proper activity of each *civitas* in its proper sphere. That Augustine regarded the *civitas Dei* as higher in kind because of its high purpose and destiny, no one of us will wish to deny.

OLD TESTAMENT AND OTHER ORIENTAL WISDOM

By SAMUEL A. B. MERCER, Trinity College, Toronto

The object of this short paper is to study, by comparison with other Oriental ideas of wisdom, the nature of wisdom, as the Israelites understood it, and to correlate it with the wisdom of the nearer Oriental world. Its purpose is also to show how the wisdom of the Old Testament approximated a real religious philosophy. The range of the sources of this study has been confined to the literature of the Hebrews, Babylonians, and Egyptians, with some use of the Story of Ahikar.

As we generally understand it, Greek and Western philosophy seeks to read the riddle of the universe by the investigation of natural phenomena, and, consequently, Greek and Western wisdom (*σοφία*) aims to discover what is permanent and universal in life and what is the ultimate reality of things. Hebrew philosophy, on the other hand, together with other Oriental philosophies, assumes the existence of the Divine, and seeks to arrive at a clear understanding of the ways of the gods and the duty of man. Oriental wisdom, assuming revelation, consists in capability, skill, experience, and profound insight into the significance and tasks of life, that is, the ways of God with man.

Old Testament wisdom knows nothing of metaphysics. The term חכמה originally connoted a half-poetical, half-philosophical observance of nature, and expressed itself in fables (Judg. 9:8-15; I Sam. 10:12; II Sam. 5:8; etc.), it was also found in the skill of the magician (Ex. 7:11) or of the artisan (Ex. 28:3), in the sagacity of the man of affairs (Gen. 41:33) or high-minded intelligence of a prophet (Deut. 4:6; Is. 11:2), or in the administrative ability of a king (I Kgs. 3:16-28). It was essentially practical in its aims. But it was fundamentally religious. Its source was in God, whence all wisdom came (Gen.

41:38-39; Ex. 31:3-6; I Kgs. 3:12, 18; Deut. 34:9; Job 28:25-28; Prov. 2:6; Pss. 51:8; 111:10; Dan. 2:21; Wisd. 7:16-21), and man acquired it through fear of God (Job 28:28) and by observation of nature (Job 35:11; Prov. 6:6) and of history (Hos. 14:10; Deut. 32:29), and by study and association with the wise (Job 32:7; Prov. 9:9; 13:20). Wisdom, according to the Hebrews, is, therefore, an attribute of God and a quality which a man may acquire, and its problem was the reconciliation of the facts of experience with belief in the government of the world by a righteous God. The Hebrew sage assumed the existence of God, and was of sound judgment and sagacious in dealing with the facts of life, especially as they related to conduct, and his chief aim of life was the pursuit of wisdom (Eccles. 39:1-11).

The Babylonians were no less insistent, than were the Hebrews, that the existence of the gods could in no wise be questioned. In them was the source of wisdom. This was especially true in respect to Ea, whose house, Apsu, was the abode of wisdom. Ea was, accordingly, called the "lord of wisdom." But so were other gods, to whom the title, *bêl nimeki*, could be applied. To acquire wisdom, the Babylonian zealously sought to ascertain the will of the gods, and although he was often inclined to despair in his search,¹ he never gave up, for in the knowledge of the gods

With the Hebrews and Babylonians the Egyptians shared the notion that the gods were the source of all wisdom, and to please the gods was the only means of acquiring wisdom.³ Both the Babylonians and Egyptians were renowned among the Hebrews as wise men,⁴ but it can not be said of them, any more than of

¹ Jastrow, *Religion Babylonians und Assyriens*, I, p. 476; II, pp. 88, 104, etc., Babylonian Job (Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels*, pp. 164 ff.), I. 36.

was wisdom, and wisdom was life.²

² Langdon, "Babylonian Proverbs," *AJSL* 28, 217 ff.; 31, 50 ff.; Babylonian Job, *op. cit.*, II. 18, 29, 34.

³ Ptah-Hotep (B. Gun, *The Instructions of Ptah-Hotep*, London, 1912), §§ 12, 10, 6, 7, 13.

⁴ I Kgs. 4:30; cf. Is. 19:11-15; Jer. 50:35; 51:57.

the Hebrews themselves, that they were given to contemplation and thought for its own sake. On the contrary, the wisdom of the Babylonians and Egyptians, like that of the Hebrews, consisted in detached sage utterances on concrete issues of life. It was in this respect that these peoples distinguished themselves as thinkers.

The chief characteristic of Hebrew, Babylonian, and Egyptian wisdom is its morality. In fact, to them moral and intellectual wisdom was scarcely distinguishable—to be right was to be wise. Accordingly, the author of *Ecclesiasticus* identified wisdom with *torah*, that is, with the law or expression of God's will. Thus wisdom became the law of life and the divine guide and ruler of man, bringing earthly blessings in abundance. In other words, among the Hebrews, Babylonians, and Egyptians, wisdom was equivalent to morals, and, next to its insistence on the unquestioned existence of the gods, concerned itself with the practical moral affairs of daily life. Therefore, wisdom was truth, faithfulness, righteousness, loyalty, diligence, courtesy, humility, self-restraint, purity, love, kindness, temperance, modesty, poise, moderation, caution, exactness, prayer, praise, and sacrifice. And in studying these elements in Hebrew, Babylonian, and Egyptian wisdom, the parallels in thought and even in expression are sometimes so striking as to raise the question of borrowing, the one people from the other.

In spite of some claims to the contrary,⁵ it is not at all likely that Hebrew wisdom was ever influenced by Egyptian thought, nor even by Babylonian thought. The similarities are sufficiently explained by the common Oriental view of God and the world. There are certain cosmopolitan aspects of Hebrew wisdom that are common to all the systems of Oriental thought. This is due to the fact that Hebrew and other Oriental wisdom is a moral discipline and deals with facts of daily experience common to the life of adjacent Oriental peoples.

⁵ A. B. Mace, "The Influence of Egypt on Hebrew Literature" (*Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, IX, 3 ff.).

The shrewdest and most penetrating minds among the Hebrews, Babylonians, and Egyptians concerned themselves with the affairs of everyday life. It was the part of wisdom to be modest and humble,⁶ to avoid evil companions,⁷ to avoid slander, gossip, and idle talk,⁸ and sexual immorality was considered the act of a fool.⁹ Wisdom consisted in filial love,¹⁰ cheerfulness, sincerity, charity, kindness, faithfulness, and all other common virtues.¹¹ Wisdom was identified with faithfulness,¹² and it was the part of wisdom to return evil with good.¹³ Like the author of Ecclesiastes, the wise men of Babylonia and Egypt never tired of commending to their readers a joy and happiness of life, which consisted in moderation.¹⁴

The search for an ultimate reality was never considered necessary by a Hebrew, Babylonian, or Egyptian. God was the ultimate reality. He never became an atheist but he often had his doubts. These, however, had to do not with the being and existence of God, but with the problem of how to reconcile the facts of experience with the belief in the government of the world by righteous and just gods. The Babylonian king, Tâbi-utul-ellil, like Job, after wrestling with this problem, came to the conclusion that God's ways are inscrutable;¹⁵ and the Babylonian sage observed with embarrassment that the righteous and good were of-

⁶ Compare Ptah-Hotep, *op. cit.*, 11: 12-12: 6; 10: 42; 13: 4-9; 1 and 2 with the Story of Aḥikar (Coneybeare, Harris, and Lewis, *The Story of Aḥikar*, London, 1898), 17: 27-28; 16: 32-33; Eccus. 7: 14; Langdon, "A Tablet of Babylonian Wisdom," PSBA 38, 105 ff., §§ C, E.

⁷ "A Tablet of Babylonian Wisdom," § B; Z. Aeg. 34, 35-49; Eccus. 11: 33.

⁸ "A Tablet of Babylonian Wisdom," §§ B, D, M, N; Ptah-Hotep, §§ 3; 11: 5-7; 23-25; Aḥikar 6; 11: 13; Prov. 13: 3; Eccus. 20: 26.

⁹ "A Tablet of Babylonian Wisdom," § K; Ptah-Hotep, §§ 9: 7-13; 18; Aḥikar 7: 25-27; Prov. 23: 27.

¹⁰ Ptah-Hotep, §§ 16: 3-12; 38; 43; Aḥikar 3: 1-4; Prov. *passim*.

¹¹ *E.g.*, "A Tablet of Babylonian Wisdom," §§ J, P; Ptah-Hotep, §§ 5; 10: 8-12; 14: 12-15: 2; 22; 33-34; Aḥikar 5: 18-19; Prov. 22: 9.

¹² "A Tablet of Babylonian Wisdom," § L; Ptah-Hotep, § 8; Prov. 13: 17.

¹³ "A Tablet of Babylonian Wisdom," § G; Ptah-Hotep, § 4.

¹⁴ "Babylonian Proverbs," *op. cit.*, § 29; Ptah-Hotep, § 11.

¹⁵ IV² R. 60, II 23 ff., and Rev. 1 ff.

ten clothed in rags.¹⁶ This was also the problem of the Egyptian sage, who could not understand the ways of Ra with men.¹⁷

Babylonian and Egyptian literature record no attempt to personify wisdom as we have it in the Old Testament. This is perhaps due to two facts. First, the Babylonians and Egyptians never developed a monotheism, and secondly, they never, during their creative period, came into contact with Greek thought. Monotheism tended to force the Hebrew to personify the attributes of God. Among the Babylonians, polytheism avoided the necessity of ascribing too many subjective attributes to any one deity. Thus, Ištar was goddess of love, Nergal was god of war, etc., and Ea was the god of wisdom. Among the Egyptians, who were also polytheistic, Thoth was the god of wisdom. But the Hebrews tended to objectify the attributes of Jehovah, creating such personifications as the Satan, the Word, and the Wisdom. This tendency was accelerated by Greek thought, and so, beginning with Prov. 8 and passing on through Job 28, Eccus. 24, and Wisdom 1-8, we follow the process of personification in its various stages, from a mere rhetorical personification to a real idea of an objective manifestation of an attribute of God. And yet, this all came about without in the least changing the fundamental character of Hebrew wisdom. To the very end it remained, as it was among the Babylonians and Egyptians, devoid of metaphysical speculation, unconcerned with the problem of the possible non-existence of God, but absorbed with the problems of virtue and righteousness and of the moral government of the world.

Old Testament wisdom, in accordance with the religious character of the Hebrew people, was fundamentally religious and moral. It was thus a religious philosophy in which the ruling idea was the will of God as expressed in His relation to the world. This was likewise true of the Babylonians and Egyptians, with this exception, namely, that the Babylonians and Egyptians did

¹⁶ "Babylonian Proverbs," 37.

¹⁷ A. H. Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, Leipzig, 1909, §§ 11: 11-12: 6.

not rise to the same height of grandeur and spirituality as the Hebrews did. Old Testament wisdom was the Hebrew aspect of a great Oriental wave of thought which spread over the Oriental world many centuries before the rise of Christianity, but the Hebrew mind gave his wisdom a colouring peculiar to itself. The Hebrews alone, among these Oriental peoples whom we have been considering, developed a real, ethical, and spiritual monotheism. They also developed a faith in that One God which never wavered. They never doubted His existence and reality. Their wisdom consisted in their knowledge of Him, and their knowledge of Him was the result of deep insight, penetrating vision, and unerring religious instinct. This wisdom became their philosophy, and it was a religious one. The purest and noblest religious philosophy bequeathed to the world, previous to the rise of Christianity, was the formulation of the sages of the Old Testament.

MIRACLE AND THE NATURAL

By H. C. ACKERMAN, Nashotah, Wis.

The problem of miracle centers in the relation of the event in question to natural events. There have been three conceptions of this relation: contradiction, transcendence, and union. The first, that of contradicting the natural, has been abandoned; the second, that of transcending the natural by the intervention of the supernatural, is to be found in such standard works as Dr. F. H. Hall's *Introduction to Dogmatic Theology*;¹ and the third view, a view taken by most liberal writers, is one which dislikes the distinction between natural and supernatural and accordingly eliminates the concept of the supernatural altogether. The problem is, of course, one of the ever-persisting ones. But it is one that always stimulates theological and philosophical interests; and that is the justification I feel for contributing the following discussion, the value of which may be left for the reader to appraise.

The theory I purpose to advance is suggested by the New Testament phrase *ἵνα πληρωθῇ* which means "in order that it might be fulfilled." My thesis is that miracle is the *fulfilment* of the natural. By fulfilment I mean, following the New Testament usage, "to fill up full" to completion and perfection.²

This relation of fulfilment is one of the most fundamental relations between the old and new covenants. For instance, the prophetic principles of the Old Testament are filled up ideally or extended to a higher plane of reality in the New Testament, in as much as the principles of the former are brought to perfection in the latter. Our Lord represents in himself the personal exemplification and realization not simply of the Hebrew ideal

¹ Cf. "Miracles are events occurring within the natural sphere which are due to supernatural causes"—p. 70.

² Cf. K. Fullerton, *Prophecy and Authority*, who traces this principle historically in a study of the doctrine and interpretation of Scripture.

but of a more perfect ideal which is nevertheless in progressive continuity with the Hebrew ideal. Similarly, the kingdom instituted by him consummates the Israelite commonwealth (reign of God on earth). Or we may cite particular detailed predictions by which the essential meaning of the *ἵνα πληρωθῇ* relation may be more strikingly seen. For example, when Matthew states that the journey of the Christ child out of Egypt "fulfilled" the prophecy of Hosea, a prophecy which originally referred to the Israelite people as a whole being led out of Egypt by God, he is connecting up two events on the ground of similarity of principle, *i.e.*, the principle of divine providence, in which the latter event represents the principle carried out with additional meaning.³ Likewise the prophecy in regard to Samson being a Nazarite⁴ is connected up with Christ, if the Evangelist really referred to the Samson passage,⁵ as a fulfilment of religious consecration. It is not necessary to multiply instances to illustrate this extension or consummation of the meaning of a prophetic prediction by which a reference to one historical event is transferred to another on the ground of some fundamental resemblance.

This use of prophetic prediction whereby events of the prophet's own day were adjusted to merely analogous events of subsequent history is common enough and is not the special point I wish to make. The thought I do wish to bring out is that just as prophetic ideas are idealized and enriched by transportation to a higher plane of meaning and thus fulfilled in the teaching of our Lord, so our Lord fulfils in himself many different lines of activity throughout the progressive development and unfolding of spiritual processes. That is to say, our Lord extends various concepts, and by their extension and the inclusion of new meaning a fuller truth is perfected. In this way Christ carries out a complete perfection (fulfilment) of the devotion of

³ Cf. Hosea 11:1 with Matt. 2:15. It does not matter that in one case Egypt was a house of bondage and in the other case a haven of refuge. The line of agreement in each is the idea of providential guidance.

⁴ Cf. Judges 13:5 with Matt. 2:23.

⁵ But cf. C. H. Toy, *Quotations in the New Testament*, p. 12 ff.

the Psalmists, the moral ideals of the prophets, the priestly legislation of Israel's law givers,⁶ the wisdom of the Hebrew sages, and the hopes of all messianic aspiration. He embodies in himself and in his kingdom (and he *is* his kingdom in its origination and potency) *all* the various religious tendencies of the Jewish people that made for righteousness.

Now, following out this line of reasoning, can not we say that Christ also fulfils, *i.e.*, completes and perfects, in a final consummation, the *natural event* as well as the ideas and spiritual dynamic of his people? It is this particular line of fulfilling which I think may help to clarify our understanding of miracle. Let us then approach the problem of the miraculous as the fulfilment of the natural in the sense in which the meaning of fulfilment has been expressed and illustrated, namely, as a carrying on of the same principle beyond its primary limitation to a more extensive sphere of reality. This may be seen by a comparison of the "miracles" of the Old Testament with the miracles of the New. To illustrate, Elijah raised to life one practically dead, as in the case of the son of the woman of Zarephath, by means of artificial resuscitation;⁷ but Christ raised to life one actually dead as in the case of Lazarus through the exercise of some other means. The action of raising Lazarus from the dead is related to the "miracle" of Elijah by the principle of fulfilment. Likewise Elisha's feeding of the hundred men⁸ is fulfilled in the feeding of the four thousand by our Lord.

It is in the fact of the resurrection, however, that we may have the most striking example of the extension or fulfilment of natural forces. The traditional conception of the resurrected body in which the new flesh⁹ is in unbroken continuity with the former body may become intelligible through our principle of interpreta-

⁶ As when, for example, his own sacrifice on the cross fulfils the sacrifices of the temple.

⁷ 1 Kgs. 17: 21.

⁸ 2 Kgs. 4: 42-44.

⁹ The much stressed distinction between flesh and body is really a false distinction since the connotation of both terms, flesh and body, is a connotation of matter. An immaterial body is a contradiction in terms.

tion. In the case of Christ's resurrection this would involve no difficulty. The difficulty lies in the case of the general resurrection. How may we conceive bodily continuity there? We would necessarily require some middle term which would relate, or maintain a union between the old body and the new. This need is supplied by the meaning of spirit. For spirit as far as it connotes energy¹⁰ implies some form of matter. Just how this matter is dissipated in its disembodiment we can not conjecture,¹¹ but I submit that as far as spirit is more elemental than mind or consciousness its reality apart from its organized form in body does not put too great a strain upon our intellectual conscientiousness. At any rate, holding close the energy connotation of spirit a notion of its disembodiment is not irrational. That there must be some kind of material transition between death and the new life of the resurrection is presented very forcibly by H. H. Streeter in *Immortality*.¹² He would reject the possibility of any interval between death and the (beginning of) resurrection. The whole problem of matter and spirit is best regulated by the recognition of the interdependence of the two factors. But the material and the spiritual are not correlative terms; they are progressive and continuous terms. The spiritual body therefore would be the fulfilment of the natural (material), the passing on from a limited to a less limited condition of existence. "That was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; and afterwards that which is spiritual."¹³

So far we have spoken of the natural and the spiritual; and the spiritual being the fulfilment of the activities operative in the natural is always in some degree miraculous. Now let us consider the problem in terms of law. Natural events may be generalized according to their uniform mode of operation in terms of law. And since miracles are the fulfilment of the natural they are accordingly reducible to law. It should be observed in

¹⁰ Cf. my art., BW., Vol. LIII, No. 2; Vol. LII, No. 2.

¹¹ Save that it is not organized body.

¹² See p. 120.

¹³ 1 Cor. 15:46.

advance in the discussion of law that we shall not be touching upon what has been formerly and uncritically called the "working of law." For laws, of course, do not "work." They are not agencies which causally determine effects. Consequently, they have no dynamic efficiency, nor can they be in any manner identified with force or will. In attempting then to formulate the law of miracle, we may boldly assume that such a law is possible of construction since miracle involves natural operations, albeit of a certain perfection beyond the ordinary.

In observing the essential quality of miracle we can not find any factor exhibiting arbitrariness. That is to say, the process of natural functioning is in no manner reversed or contrary to the direction or end toward which the process or operation tends. Taking for example the miracles of healing, nature in any form of physical illness directs itself toward health. This direction may not always be maintained owing to limitative conditions, but mental and physical soundness is the natural end of organic existence. If then the diseased body or mind is righted or restored the restoration will not be a reversal, of, or contrary to, the organic tendency. Thus, the miracles of our Lord's healing carry out or extend to fitting perfection the natural tendencies which are limited, *i.e.*, checked or repressed, during the suffering. Therefore, to restore sight to the blind and agility to the lame and hearing to the deaf is but to carry out the inherent natural propensities which have been hindered in their proper consummation. This point may be illustrated negatively. For example, if our Lord had made the healthy sick, or those who could hear deaf, or those who could see blind, the occurrence would *not* have been miraculous, for in this case there would be no fulfilment of organic existential tendencies. Theoretically, such action might have been possible, but then an event of this negating kind would be dissimilar to the special kind of events we are considering and hence not entitled to be termed miraculous. It would be purely arbitrary and inconsistent with nature's normal procedure—and altogether unintelligible. It lightens our problem immensely not

to find our Lord working a work of this unnatural kind. The fact that the New Testament miracles are not *unnatural* in the above sense makes it simpler to see that they are natural.

In the actual events, therefore, which we choose to call miracles, we observe a rational and consistent fulfilment of natural operation. Now, to generalize this kind of progressive operation, we must obtain the essential quality or factor. Is this not the removal or overcoming of limitation? Making the blind see is the removal of a limitation to sight; making the deaf hear is the removal of a limitation to hearing; healing the sick is the removal of a limitation to health; and likewise restoring the dead to life is the removal of a limitation to life. The constant factor appears to be the removal or overcoming of limitations in natural operations. And likewise, to illustrate with wider latitude, the removal of error and self-deception gives us truth. Truth is the fulfilment of knowledge. And it places no strain upon the nature of the miraculous to say that truth is miracle in degree, for truth is the fulfilment of all logical judgments; and any mistaken notion that rights itself by contact with other human judgments or by closer adjustment with the objective facts of life is in its proper logical sphere a miracle in some degree. Perfect truth is, certainly, in relation to the progression of human knowledge a miracle. In this sense the revelation of Christ's teaching is, equally with his works, positively miraculous.

The law then of miracle may be expressed thus: natural limitations being overcome, natural processes are fulfilled to perfection. This is the law of miracle in as much as the law so stated is a generalization which is universally and necessarily true.

This statement of the law of miracle may seem to the reader to over-simplify the problem.¹⁴ But most insoluble problems are false problems. The old difficulty with the so-called super-

¹⁴ Since a law is a thoroughly tested hypothesis, the greatest difficulty with our generalization is in connection with such miracles as the changing of water into wine (Jno. 2: 3-11). It is not easy to see how the water is "fulfilled" in the wine, save as the water-become-wine more perfectly satisfies the same need which the simple water satisfied.

natural interventions in, or contraventions of, natural law was mainly in the expression of a false problem. Hence, no intelligent solution was forthcoming. Taking the law of miracle as it has been worked out in this discussion we see that all nature is full of miracle. This is a great gain. A miracle is not an isolated event. All natural operations are miraculous when they tend toward a higher or more perfect end with no limitations blocking their perfect consummation. But this means that there are degrees and kinds of miracle. Healing the sick is a different kind from raising the dead. Hebrew prophecy being fulfilled in the truth of Christ's teaching is different from history repeating itself with more and more spiritual meaning. The natural man becoming the spiritual man has its own complex degree of miracle. Miracle is wide in range and extension. Being born again is one beginning of miracle; inheriting eternal life, when all God's purposes for man are fulfilled through Christ our Lord, is the final consummation of the miraculous operation of the spirit of God.

Granting then that miracle involves the removal of natural limitations in order to bring to perfection some form of existence and granting that nature on the whole evidences various degrees of fulfilment which may be considered miraculous, does not such a conception disregard the uniqueness which seems to be characteristic of miracle? For it is generally thought that the uniqueness of miracle, as distinguished from natural events, lies in the nature of the cause. A difference in causation is held to be the distinguishing feature. The cause of the natural can be determined, while the cause of miracle lies outside human comprehension.

That the differentiating factor is not the causal factor I think is now beginning to be recognized. In the first place, it must be admitted that the cause of miracle can not be determined save as that set of necessary antecedents, from which the event always follows. The set of necessary antecedents from which follow miraculous events will of course include, in the case of New

Testament miracles, Christ himself. The same set of circumstances would always produce the same miraculous effects. Now this is in no wise different from any other concept of causation, since certain things must happen before in order that certain things may happen afterwards. Consequently, it can not be a difference in causation which distinguishes a miracle from a natural event.

If an objector pins us down more closely to the precise issue and states that the Christ factor involves something unique in the way of force or will which ordinary natural sequences do not contain, we may ask him whether his science pretends to tell us how natural operation takes place or to account for it by anything more than an analytic description. For in science to explain is simply to describe. Therefore, in the ordinary natural events which need no justification for their operation there are hidden elemental factors which underlie scientific description and which are comparable in their mystery to the Christ-factor in the necessary antecedents of miracle. So, again, it is not by a differentiation of causation that we can mark off miracle from the natural.

We are therefore thrown back upon our original statement concerning the nature of miracle, namely, that it is the fulfilment of the natural. Nature in its elemental and its ultimate operation is too deep and too high for any human intelligence to venture to determine its bounds, and say here is the proper domain of the natural and all events which overlap these specific limits must be put in a class by themselves as something other than the natural.

CRITICAL NOTE

THE SIXTH CHAPTER OF JOHN NOT IN DANGER

By J. F. SPRINGER, New York City

The Great War was a colossal calamity. But a still greater calamity would befall if investigation should result in the loss of the sixth chapter of the Gospel of John. In fact, any real and substantial clouding of the authenticity would be a mighty catastrophe.

The suggestion has been made that this precious and wonderful chapter may be an interpolation, though perhaps the interpolation actually in mind may consist of the introduction of genuine discourse material by a disciple of the author of the book. At all events, we have the following statement on p. 69 of *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, Part III, The Fourth Gospel (1920), by V. H. Stanton:

"On the whole I am disposed to think that the contents of ch. vi, or a portion thereof, may have been interpolated in the original Gospel."

It seems to me that the door ought not thus to be left open, particularly when there is really so little reason to leave it so, but rather that the door should be shut and the bolt shot.

It would appear as if a good way to do this would be to deal especially with the narrative framework as distinguished from the contained discourse. I seek, then, to unite the narrative of ch. 6 with the narrative of the remainder of the book. We thus have one writer for the whole. Any attempt, then, to suggest that this or that piece of discourse might be an interpolation, even an interpolation by a member of the same circle as the writer of the book, would at once encounter the stubborn fact that the narrative framework in which that piece of discourse is set is the product of the author of the Gospel as a whole.

Happily, the narrative of ch. 6 may be very securely united to the body of the book. There are numerous and convincing characteristics of style by means of which the union may be adequately effected.

The narrative text consists of 496 words out of a total of 1,242—that is, it constitutes 40 per cent of the chapter. And yet, from this small amount, it is possible to cite no less than 13 characteristics of style, characteristics uniting the narrative framework securely to the body of the book. This means the genuineness of the sixth chapter as a whole.

Σίμων Πέτρος

The combination, *Σίμων Πέτρος*, is not a customary form of designation in any part of the NT other than the Gospel of John. In this book, it occurs 17 times:

Jn. 1. 40; 6. 8, 68; 13. 6, 9, 24, 36; 18. 10, 15, 25; 20. 2, 6; 21. 2, 3, 7, 11, 15.

It will be noted that two of the instances are in ch. 6, thus linking it with the remainder of the book. Outside of John, the NT contains but three instances—Mt. 16. 16; Lk. 5. 8; 2 Pt. 1. 1.

(ὁ) Ἰούδας Σίμωνος

If it were not for the Fourth Gospel, we should be ignorant of the paternal parentage of Judas Iscariot. This information is supplied by the form in which Judas is designated in Jn. 6. 71; 13. 2 and 26. One of these instances belongs in the sixth chapter and thus serves as a linguistic characteristic linking it with the other part of the Gospel.

Σίμων Ἰσκαριώτης

That Judas was surnamed Iscariot we learn from the Synoptic Gospels as well as Jn. 12. 4 and 13. 2. See also Jn. 14. 22. But John alone uses a designation of Judas which attaches the surname to the father. That is, in Jn. 6. 71, we have τὸν Ἰούδαν Σίμωνος Ἰσκαριώτου, and in Jn. 13. 26, Ἰούδα Σίμωνος Ἰσκαριώτου. Here then is a notable form uniting the body of the Gospel and the sixth chapter.

τῆς Τιβεριάδος

The sheet of water into and out of which the Jordan flows is variously designated in the NT. Thus, we have ἡ Θάλασσα τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἡ (*e.g.*, Mt. 4. 18, Mk. 1. 16, and Jn. 6. 1), Λίμνη Γεννησαρέτ (Lk. 5. 1), simply ἡ Λίμνη (Lk. 8. 22), and ἡ Θάλασσα τῆς Τιβεριάδος. The use of τῆς Τιβεριάδος as a limiting adjunct is found only in the Gospel of John where it occurs in 6. 1 and 21. 1. We have in this a good, strong indication of the genuineness of ch. 6.

ἀπεκρίθη καὶ εἶπεν

In the LXX and the NT occur various modes of putting what Western people mean when they say, He answered. Some notable forms involve the use of ἀποκρίνομαι, usually as the aorist (passive) participle. Ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν is the most customary formula both for the NT and the LXX. But variations occur. Thus, we have ἀποκριθεὶς λέγει (LXX Dn. 7. 16; NT Mk. 3. 33; Lk. 11. 45), and ἀπεκρίθη καὶ λέγει (LXX 1 Ki. 9. 12; NT Mk. 7. 28; Theodotion Dn. 2. 10). But the form, ἀπεκρίθη καὶ εἶπεν appears to be very unusual. It occurs twice in the Third Gospel (Lk. 13. 15 and 17. 20) and nowhere else in the NT except in John. In this Gospel, we have 28 instances.¹ Three of these occur in ch. 6, and so afford us evidence of exceptional strength for the genuineness of this chapter.

πολλοὶ ἐκ

There are several ways of using πολλοί with a noun. Thus, one may say πολλοὶ προφῆται (Lk. 10. 24) or πολλοὺς τῶν Φαρισαίων (Mt. 3. 7). These combinations may be regarded as conforming to the usual practice. In John, however, and in one other place (Ac. 17. 12) in the NT, we have a prepositional phrase. Πολλοὶ ἐκ is employed 7 or 8 times in John ((4. 39); 6. 60, 66; 7. 31; 10. 20; 11. 19, 45; 12. 42) and πολλοί with the genitive but twice (12. 11 and 19. 20). Particularly to be noted are the two occurrences of πολλοὶ ἐκ in Jn. 6. These unite this

¹ Jn. 1. 48, 50; 2. 18, 19; 3. 3, 9, 10, 27; 4. 10, 13, 17; 6. 26, 29, 43; 7. 16, 21, 52; 8. 14, 39, 48; 9. 20, 30, 34; 12. 30; 13. 7; 14. 23; 18. 30; 20. 28.

chapter, in point of style, with the remainder of the Fourth Gospel.

ἐκ τούτου

This is an expression occurring, in the NT, only in the Johanne writings (Jn. 6. 66; 19. 12 and 1 Jn. 4. 6). The former two instances refer apparently to time, while the last does not. Other similar temporal expressions are: ἀπ' ἄρτι (Mt. 23. 39), ἀπὸ τότε (Mt. 16. 21), ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν (Lk. 5. 10), (τὸ) λοιπόν (2 Tm. 4. 8; Hb. 10. 13), and τοῦ λοιποῦ (Gal. 6. 17).

The occurrence of ἐκ τούτου in the Fourth Gospel is to be regarded as a stylistic criterion. This criterion serves to bind ch. 6 and the remaining text into a document owing its origin to a single pen.

Omission of Sentence Connective

It is customary in the historical books of the NT to join the sentences of the narrative by some species of connective. The most usual words are δέ and καί. The Fourth Gospel employs introductory connectives to a considerable extent, so that it can hardly be viewed as an exception to the foregoing statement. At the same time, this Gospel freely presents narrative sentences without connectives to join them to the preceding textual matter. Chapter 6, containing only a moderate total of narrative text, nevertheless has 12 narrative sentences that are without introductory connectives (Jn. 6. 7, 8, 10, 22, 26, 29, 35, 43, 59, 66, 68, 70). Here again we have identity of style between this chapter and the remaining portion of the book.

τοῦτο δὲ ἔλεγεν

The use of the demonstrative, whether as pronoun or adjective, at the head of the sentence as the object of a verb of saying is quite characteristic of the Gospel of John. At least 22 instances occur, two of them in the sixth chapter (Jn. 6. 6, 59; 7. 9; 8. 20; 9. 6, 22; 10. 6; 11. 11, 28, 43, 51; 12. 36; 13. 21; 17. 1; 18. 1, 22, 38; 20. 14, 20, 22; 21. 19, 19).

The instances in ch. 6 read as follows:

τοῦτο δὲ ἔλεγεν
πειράζων αὐτόν

Jn. 6. 6.

ταῦτα εἶπεν ἐν συγκαγωγῇ
διδάσκων ἐν Καφαρναούμ

Jn. 6. 59.

μετὰ ταῦτα

While the use of *μετὰ ταῦτα* at the beginning of paragraphs and sections is not confined, in the NT, to the Fourth Gospel, nevertheless the number of instances occurring in the two larger books ascribed to John the son of Zebedee totals more than those in all the rest of the NT. The sixth chapter begins with these words, and so also six or seven other sections and paragraphs of the Gospel (Jn. 3. 22; 5. 1 (14); 6. 1; 7. 1; 19. 38; 21. 1). See also 13. 7. So, then, even here, we have a characteristic indicative of the sameness of authorship for the chapter and the book.

εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω

The expression, *εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω*, occurs but six times in the NT, and half of these instances are in the Fourth Gospel (Mk. 13. 16; Lk. 9. 62; 17. 31; Jn. 6. 66; 18. 6; 20. 14). The sixth chapter is linked by this phrase to the main portion of the document.

ὁψάριον

In *ὁψάριον*, we have a word peculiar, in the NT, to the Gospel of John (Jn. 6. 9, 11; 21. 9, 10, 13). After omitting 6. 9 and 21. 10 we still have 6. 11 and 21. 9 and 13 as means of linking chapter and book.

συνεισέρχομαι

The double compound, *συνεισέρχομαι*, occurs, in the NT, only in John (Jn. 6. 22; 18. 15). One of these instances links the sixth chapter with the Gospel as a whole.

It will be desirable to gather together in the form of a tabulation the characteristics of style and their locations in the sixth chapter. The following table exhibits these data, and in its last column sets forth the distribution of the locations in the chapter.

DISTRIBUTION LIST

CRITERIA LINKING CHAPTER 6 WITH THE

REMAINDER OF JOHN

Verse Numbers in Sixth Chapter

Σίμων Πέτρος	Ἰούδας Σίμωνος	Σίμων Ἰσκαριώτης	τῆς Τιθερίδος	ἀπεκρίθη καὶ εἶπεν	πολλοὶ ἐκ	ἐκ τούτου	Omission of Sentence Connective	τοῦτο δὲ ἔλεγεν	μετὰ ταῦτα	εἰς τὰ ὅπισω	ὁψάριον	συνεισέρχομαι	Verses containing one or another of the 13 criteria
			1					6	1				1, 1 6 7 8, 8 10 11 22, 22 26, 26 29, 29 35 43, 43 59, 59 60 66, 66, 66, 66 68, 68 70 71, 71
8				26 29 43			7 8 10 22 26 29 35 43 59				11	22	
68					60 66	66	66 68 70	59		66			
	71	71											

Let us now give attention to the distribution of the characteristics. The Vatican MS. divides the chapter as follows: 1-14, 15-21, 22-40, 41-51, 52-71. This is perhaps the most ancient division extant. In the recension of Westcott & Hort, there are the following sections: 1-13, 14-15, 16-21, 22-40, 41-51, 52-59, 60-65, 66-71. The Revised Version, as printed by the American Revisers, divides the chapter thus: 1-14, 15, 16-21, 22-40, 41-51, 52-59, 60-65, 66-71. Each and every section of

all three systems contains one or more of the characteristics with the following exceptions:

Vatican	15-21
Westcott & Hort.....	14-15, 16-21
Revised (Am.).....	15, 16-21

With the exception, then, of the seven or eight verses (14) 15-21, all the sections are bound together and the chapter is united to the book.²

In the case of one section, as given by WH and the Revisers, there is but a single characteristic. The section is 60-65 and the characteristic is *πολλοὶ ἐκ*, one of the most notable in the list.

Consider now the seven or eight verses which contain no one of the listed characteristics. The passage 16-21 is required to effect the transition from the scene of the miracle recounted in 1-13 to a point on the other side of the sea, implied in 22 ff. Consequently, verses 16-21 are to be retained.

Verse 15 is required because the separation of Jesus from His disciples, implied in the passage 16-21, needs such an explanation as that given in the words, "Jesus . . . withdrew again into the mountain alone."

We now have verses 15-21 secured to the chapter. Verse 14 requires no special treatment, since all three modes of dividing the chapter into sections include it either with the preceding text or with the following.³

Confirmatory of the retention of verses 14-21 as genuine text from the same hand as the Gospel may be cited the following minor characteristics of the Johannine style:

Ἰησοῦς, verse 15. Used without the article.⁴

² Of course, the reader is not to understand that these seven or eight verses can not be united to the context or to the book, but only that the 13 characteristics do not accomplish the unions.

³ Verse 14 is, as a matter of fact, required to explain verse 15.

⁴ In the treatment of the linguistic characteristics uniting the sixth chapter with the rest of the book, I do not claim amongst the principal criteria the very frequent usage, throughout John and in the chapter with which we are concerned, of the name without the article. The several Gospels disclose

ὧς, verse 16. Used as relative adverb of time. Jn. 2. 9, 23; 4. 1, 40; 6. 12, 16; 7. 10; 11. 6, 20, 29, 32, 33; 18. 6; 19. 33; 20. 11; 21. 9. Elsewhere in the NT, employed freely only by Luke in Gospel and Acts. Total of remaining instances is 15, mostly in the Pauline Epistles.

σκοτία, verse 17. Jn. 1. 5, 5; 6. 17; 20. 1; 1 Jn. 1. 5; 2. 8, 9, 11, 11, 11. Elsewhere in NT: Mt. 4. 16; 10. 27; Lk. 12. 3.

οὖν, verse 19. Adversative use. J. R. Mantry estimates that there are "about thirty" instances of this usage in the NT. Among other examples he cites Jn. 2. 22; 4. 45; 6. 19; 9. 18; 18. 11. See *Expositor* (London), Sept., 1921.

ἐγγύς τοῦ παλίου, verse 19. Use of ἐγγύς with a noun and that noun in the genitive. Jn. 3. 23; 6. 19, 23; 11. 18, 54; (19. 20). Elsewhere in the NT: Rm. 10. 8 (LXX Dt. 30. 14); (13. 11); Hb. 6. 8; 8. 13. Lk. 19. 11 and Ac. 1. 12 are indeterminate.

marked differences amongst themselves which we may view as personal characteristics. If we eliminate from consideration such combinations as that with Χριστός, and have respect only to the simple instances, the anarthrous use of Ἰησοῦς as compared with the total use, found by combining arthrous and anarthrous instances, may be expressed as a percentage. Tentative figures for these percentages are as follows: Mt.=13; Mk.=4; Lk.=25; Jn.=38. If this were all, we might reckon the high percentage of John as due simply or at least principally to personal inclination. But when the percentage for Acts is found to be around 53, some additional factor seems possible. The total number of cases in Acts is small—say, 38—so that we must not rely overmuch upon the figure 53. It may properly be something more or something less. However, it is more than double the percentage for the Gospel from the same writer.

It would appear that Luke may well have had his own original usage modified by his contacts with others and perhaps by a general tendency, increasing with the lapse of time, to leave off the article. Such possibilities make it practically impossible to claim the Johannine 38 as simply due to personality. Lapse of time and a general usage changing with it may be largely responsible for the excess over the other Gospels.

With regard to the figures given in the preceding, it may be explained that they are not final. When all considerations for elimination of instances are duly applied, they may suffer absolute changes and perhaps relative ones as well. Narrative and discourse instances are not separated.

CONCLUSIONS

A reference to the table will show by the number of verse citations under the several characteristics of style that in the chapter some characteristics occur but once while others occur a plurality of times. Each and every one of the characteristics serves to bind some part or parts of the narrative of ch. 6 to the narrative of the Gospel as a whole. But those which in ch. 6 occur more than once perform an additional function. They operate in the chapter to bind section to section.

In view of these considerations, it will be granted perhaps that, with the exception of verses (14) 15-21, we have as a consequence of the existence of the characteristics in and out of the chapter a union of the narrative of ch. 6 to the narrative of the main body of the book and also a confirmatory union together of the several sections of the chapter.

And in view of the necessities of an intelligible narrative, it may also be claimed that the excepted verses (14) 15-21 are securely bound to the narrative text, both that which precedes and that which follows.

In short, the narrative framework throughout the chapter and the narrative framework of the book as a whole are the work of one and the same writer.

NOTES, COMMENTS, AND PROBLEMS

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF RELIGION AND ETHICS ON JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY

The following table of the more important articles in this field may prove useful to students. The number after the author's name indicates roughly the number of pages in the article, those less than three pages long being usually disregarded. Criticism is reduced to an extreme minimum.

I. *Bible*. Bible (Sanday, 17) [fine liberal conservatism], Interpretation (Dobschütz, 5), Allegory and Allegorical Interpretation (Geffcken, 4), Revelation (H. L. Goudge, 4) [apologetic], Inspiration, Protestant (J. Strahan, 4), Inspiration, Roman Catholic (Becelaere, 2), Miracles (J. A. McCullough, 14) [conservative], Typology (Darbyshire, 3) [conservative].

II. *Old Testament*. Criticism, O. T. (J. Strahan, 4), Semites (Barton, 6), Irsael (Kennett, 18), Canaanites (Paton, 12), Edomites (S. A. Cook, 4), Hittites (B. B. Charles, 4), Samaritans (W. J. Moulton, 6), Creation (J. Strahan, 5), Fall, Biblical (Denney, 4) [dogmatic, but accompanied by full "Ethnic" article (J. A. McCullough, 10)], Deluge (F. H. Woods, 12) [very full], Prophecy (E. König, 9), Law, Biblical, O. T. (Kent, 2) [too brief], Decalogue (Batten, 4), Priest, Priesthood, Hebrew (H. P. Smith, 4), Communion with Deity, Hebrew (Barton, 3), Image of God (W. L. Davidson, 3), Sin, Hebrew & Jewish (Bennett, 4), Expiation & Atonement, Hebrew (Driver, 6), Righteousness, O. T. (A. R. Gordon, 4), Messiah (C. W. Emmett, 11), Anti-Christ (Bousset, 3) [these two articles include the Christian material], Worship, Hebrew (Box, 7), Festivals & Fasts, Hebrew (F. H. Woods, 4), Music, Hebrew (G. W. Stewart, 4), Scribes (Moffatt, 4), Sadducees (Box, 3), Pharisees (Box, 5), Essenes (Moffatt, 5), Therapeutæ (Moffatt, 4), Zealots (S. Angus, 5), Proselyte (W. Cruickshank, 3). Such topics as "Altar," "Elders," "Holiness," "Marriage," "Sacrifice," etc., are treated under the head of general Semitic religion, with a few exceptions: Nazirites (G. A. Cooke, 3), Sun, Moon & Stars (M. A. Canney, 3), Water, Hebrew & Jewish (M. Gaster, 3).

III. *Judaism*. Judaism (H. Loewe, 28) [begins with Exile]; various articles on "Jews in . . ."; Sects, Jewish (I. Abrahams, 11), Karaites (Poznanski, 10), Kabbala (H. Loewe, 6), Liberal Judaism (Abrahams, 2), Zionism (P. Goodman, 3); Literature, Jewish (Elbogen, 7), Midrash (Hurwitz, 5), Talmud (Abrahams, 3) [too brief]; God, Jewish (A. E. Suffrin, 4) [conventional], Messiahs (Hyamson, 7), Salvation, Jewish (M. Joseph, 10), Expiation & Atonement, Jewish (H. Loewe, 5), Sacrifice, Jewish (Gaster, 5), Priest, Priesthood, Jewish (H. Hirschfeld, 3) [mostly "orthodox" view of O. T.], Righteousness, Jewish (Abelsohn, 3); Love, Jewish (G. Deutsch, 3); Life & Death, Jewish (M. Joseph, 3), Birth, Jewish (Gaster, 6), Marriage, Jewish (Abrahams, 3), Transmigration, Jewish (Gaster, 5); Worship, Jewish (Loewe, 3), Prayer, Jewish (Perles, 5), Mysticism, Hebrew & Jewish (Abelsohn, 5), Calendar, Jewish (Poznanski, 7); Art, Jewish (Abrahams, 6); Music, Jewish (F. L. Cohen, 2), Hymns, Hebrew & Jewish (Margoliouth, 4); Magic, Jewish (Gaster, 5), Charms & Amulets, Jewish (Gaster, 4); Maimonides (Abelsohn, 4).

IV. *Biblical and General Christian Theology*. Christianity (Garvie, 20) [good statement of conflicting theories], Theology (D. S. Adam, 7), Bible in the Church (Dobschütz, 36) [admirable]; Apologetics (T. W. Crafer, 12) [no history of apologetics]; Confessions, Christian (W. A. Curtis, 70) [massive, with elaborate tables], Catechisms (3 authors, 5); Infallibility (W. A. Curtis, 23), Orthodoxy (W. A. Curtis, 3), Heresy, Christian (G. Cross, 8) [really historical], Schism (H. W. Fulford, 4), Toleration (Adeney, 5); Erastianism (J. Y. Evans, 7) [all Church history covered], Voluntaryism (G. Ross, 3).

God, Biblical & Christian (W. T. Davison, 7) [finds too much in New Testament], Providence (W. T. Davison, 5), Trinity (W. Fulton, 4) [apologetic]; Jesus Christ (W. D. Mackenzie, 46) [Gospel accounts and all subsequent Christology covered], Kenosis (Loofs, 7), Descent to Hades, Christ's (Loofs, 9) [all non-Christian influence barred but accompanying "Ethnic" article (J. A. McCullough, 6) gives non-Christian parallels], Assumption & Ascension (J. H. Bernard, 6); Mary (J. H. Cooper, 6) [non-Roman Catholic but omits non-Christian influence]; Spirit, Holy (R. B. Hoyle, 19) [Biblical, Jewish and Christian combined], Charismata (A. T. Grieve, 4).

Soul, Christian (H. W. Robertson, 4), Life & Death, Christian (W. F. Cobb, 3), Light & Darkness, Christian (A. J. Maclean,

4); Sin, Christian (H. R. Mackintosh, 6), Original Sin (Tenant, 7) [apologetic but not dogmatic], Anger of God (Kilpatrick, 4) [dogmatic], Soteriology (Kilpatrick, 11), Salvation (Kilpatrick, 21), Mediation (Denney, 5) [dogmatic], Expiation & Atonement (W. A. Brown, 6), Propitiation (C. M. Kerr, 4), Grace (H. R. Mackintosh, 3); Predestination (A. S. Martin, 10) [moderate Calvinism], Election (A. S. Martin, 5), Justification (J. A. Simpson, 4), Forgiveness (W. F. Cobb, 4), Regeneration (J. T. Marshall, 9), Sanctification (R. H. Coates, 3), Merit (R. S. Franks, 4); Church (J. Oman, 7) [penetration of Biblical material not deep].

Eschatology (J. A. McCullough, 18) [includes extra-Christian religions], State of the Dead (C. Harris, 5), Second Adventism (S. J. Case, 4).

V. *New Testament*. Apostolic Age (McGiffert, 7), Gospels (Burkitt, 11), Gospels, Apocryphal (L. S. Wells, 6), Kingdom of God (G. H. Gilbert, 4), Paul (A. Menzies and W. Edie, 15); Communion with Deity, Christian (D. Stone and D. C. Simpson) [purely New Testament and strongly apologetic], Righteousness, N. T. (W. C. Allen and J. Denney, 4) [apologetic]; Law, Biblical, N. T. (Menzies, 3) Judaizing (D. M. Kay, 3); Mysteries, Egypt (A. Moret, 3), Mysteries, Greece, Phrygia, etc., and Rome (P. Gardner, 5), Magic, Greek & Roman (K. F. Smith, 21); Josephus (Niese, 10).

VI. *Early Church*. Persecution, Christian, Early Church (Gwatkin, 7); Councils & Synods, Christian, Early (D. Stone, 8) [apologetic], Creeds, Ecumenical (A. E. Burn); Ministry, Early Christian (Maclean, 15) [somewhat Anglican in tone but not dogmatic]; Catacombs (G. Schneider, 6).

Gnosticism (E. F. Scott, 11), Ebionism (W. Beveridge, 6) [connection with the earliest Christianity uninvestigated], Simon Magus (G. N. L. Hall, 11), Doceticism (A. Fortescue, 3), Nicolaitans (R. W. Moss, 3), Elkesaites (Brandt, 7), Mandæans (Brandt, 13), Pleroma (A. F. Simpson, 4), Basilides (Peake, 6), Valentinianism (E. F. Scott, 4), Pistis Sophia (Moffatt, 3), Manichæism (A. A. Bevan, 8).

Alexandrian Theology (Inge, 11) [Philo is treated here only], Antiochene Theology (Srawley, 10), Cappadocian Theology (Srawley, 5); Arianism (Foakes-Jackson, 11), Macedonianism (Loofs, 5), Nestorianism (Maclean, 9), Monophysitism (Krüger, 6), Pelagianism (R. G. Parsons, 8).

Ambrose (H. B. Workman, 3), Athanasius (W. E. Barnes, 4), Augustine (B. B. Warfield, 5) [highly dogmatic], Jerome (Grützmacher, 3).

VII. *Medieval Church*. Councils & Synods, Christian, Medieval (D. S. Schaff, 4); Crusades (Workman, 6); Scholasticism (S. H. Mellone, 10), Thomism (A. Whitacre, 4); Office, The Holy (Thurston, 3) [apologetic], Inquisition (Vacandard, 6) [moderate Roman Catholic apologetic], Persecution, Christian, Roman Catholic (A. Fawkes, 5) [sharply critical].

Monothelitism (Krüger, 3), Iconoclasm (Fortescue, 3), Albigenses (J. B. Mullinger, 10), Waldenses (Adeney, 10), Hussites (J. T. Müller, 3).

Abelard (Workman, 4), Aquinas (J. M. Heald, 5), Bernard of Clairvaux (Workman, 3), Savonarola (E. G. Gardner, 3), Wyclif (Workman, 11).

Prester John (T. Barns, 3), Miracle Plays (Compton & Conway, 5).

VIII. *Reformation and Modern*. Councils & Synods, Christian, Modern (Thurston, 6) [Roman Catholic and apologetic], Reformation (Gwatkin, 14) [Evangelical Protestant], Persecutions, Christian, Modern (W. T. Whitley, 7) [chiefly anti-Roman Catholic].

Luther and Lutheranism (H. E. Jacobs, 7) [latter article too brief], Calvinism (Orr, 8), Zwingli (H. Watt, 4), Anabaptism (W. J. McGlothlin, 6), Socinianism (W. M. Clow, 3) [these articles are all apologetic, with the exception of the last]; Synergism (D. Mackenzie, 6), Covenant Theology (W. A. Brown, 8); Puritanism (H. G. Wood, 8), Brownists (F. J. Powicke, 4), Pilgrim Fathers (D. Macfadyen, 7).

Jesuits (Thurston, 3) [apologetic], Gallicanism (J. Turmel, 7), Jansenism (G. H. Northcote, 5), Quietism (E. Herman, 6), Molinism (A. Whitacre, 3).

Pietism (E. S. Waterhouse, 3); Enlightenment (C. G. Shaw, 6).

Boehme (G. W. Allen, 5), Bunyan (J. Ross, 4), Hooker (R. Bayne, 5), Knox (H. Cowan, 3), Laud (A. Mitchell, 3), Pascal (W. F. Cobb, 6), Wesley (W. B. Brash, 4).

IX. *Nineteenth Century*. Concordat (J. Turmel, 8), Ultramontaniam (Urquhart, 3), Deutsch-Katholizismus (Mirbt, 3), Modernism (A. A. Lilley, 5); Oxford Movement (Ollard, 4); Evangelicalism (Stalker, 5) [apologetic], Revivals of Religion

(Stalker, 4), Sunday-Schools (T. G. Soares, 3), Y. M. C. A. (A. K. Yapp, 3), Y. W. C. A. (E. Kinnaird, 3).

Irving (J. G. Simpson, 6), Martineau (J. E. Carpenter, 3), Maurice (J. E. Symes, 2), Pusey (A. Way, 3).

X. *Denominational History*. Catholicism (J. H. Maude, 3) [mildly Anglican]; Eastern Church (Porphyrios, 2) [general introduction], Greek Orthodox Church (S. V. Troitsky, 10), Russian Church (S. V. Troitsky, 10) [these two articles frankly dogmatic], Syrian Christians (Maclean, 14), Coptic Church (Scott-Moncrieff, 6); Western Church (R. M. Pope, 8) [critical of Papacy], Papacy (A. Fawkes, 8) [sharply critical]; many short articles, chiefly by Roman Catholics, on Roman Catholic topics, of which there may be noted: Grace (Becelaere, 5), Indulgences (Boudinhon, 3), Lourdes (Thurston, 3) [aims at objectivity], Loreto (Thurston, 2) [skeptical]; Old Catholicism (Michaud, 3).

Church, British (Hugh Williams, 7), Church of England (F. W. Head, 17) [objective history with very little on Anglican theology], Prayer, Book of Common (C. L. Feltoe, 4).

Sects, Christian (W. T. Whitley, 14) [covers all of Church history], Connexionalism (W. T. Whitley, 4) [finds too many proofs], Nonconformity (Adeney, 12).

Brethren, Plymouth (J. McCullough, 3), Congregationalism (W. Walker, 6), Friends, Society of (W. C. Braithwaite, 5), Mennonites (Kühler, 3), Methodism (G. S. Simon and G. G. Findlay, 12), Moravians (E. R. Hassé, 4), Presbyterianism (J. Dall, 27), Reformed Church in America (C. E. Corwin, 3), Reformed Church in the United States (J. H. Dubbs, 4), Saints, Latter Day (G. W. Riley, 8) [critical], Salvation Army (W. B. Booth, 9), Unitarianism (J. E. Carpenter, 8), Universalism (J. E. Odgers, 6). [Curiously enough there is no specific article on Baptists.]

XI. *Missions*. Missions, Christian, Early & Medieval (C. R. Beazley, 8), Missions, Christian, Roman Catholic (M. Spitz, 14), Missions, Christian, Protestant (H. U. Weitbrecht, 18); Persecution, Indian (A. S. Geden, 3), Persecution, Muhammedan (T. W. Arnold, 4).

XII. *Law*. Law, Christian, Western-Canon Law (Fortescue, 6), Law, Christian, Eastern (Fortescue, 2), Law, Christian, Anglican (Maclean, 5).

XIII. *Liturgical, Sacramental, etc.* Worship, Christian (J. V. Bartlet, 14), Prayer, Christian, Liturgical (R. M. Wooley,

3), Intercession, Liturgical (Maclean, 3), Prayer for the Departed (Maclean, 4), Commemoration of Dead (Maury, 4).

Sacraments, Christian, Eastern (R. G. Parsons, 1), Sacraments, Christian, Western (T. A. Lacey, 5) [Anglican], Sacraments, Christian, Lutheran (H. E. Jacobs, 3), Sacraments, Christian, Reformed (Stalker, 3); Baptism, N. T. (J. V. Bartlet, 4), Baptism, Early Christian (K. Lake, 10) [full and objective], Baptism, Later Christian (St. G. Wood, 13); Eucharist, To end of Middle Ages (Srawley, 23) [mildly Anglican but very informative as to origins], Eucharist, Reformation and post-Reformation (H. Watt, 7); Agape (Maclean, 10); Unction, Christian (Maclean, 7) [covers confirmation, ordination, coronation, etc.], Confirmation (H. J. Lawlor, 8), Confirmation, Roman Catholic (Thurston, 2) [both weak as to origins]; Penance, Roman Catholic (Becelaere, 4), Penance, Anglican (O. D. Watkins, 5), Binding & Loosing (J. K. Mozley, 3) [Anglican]; Ordination, Christian (Maclean, 12), Apostolic Succession (J. G. Simpson, 8) [mildly Anglican], Episcopacy (D. Stone, 3) [Anglican]; Marriage, Christian (W. M. Foley, 10); Extreme Unction (Thurston, 2) [Roman Catholic]; Consecration (C. L. Feltoe, 6) [chiefly consecration of churches and description of modern rites].

Litany (J. H. Maude, 3); Preaching, Christian (Stalker, 5).

Calendar, Christian (J. G. Carleton, 7), Festivals & Fasts (J. G. Carleton, 9), Saints & Martyrs, Christian (Thurston, 8), Relics, Primitive & Western (J. A. McCullough, 8); Sunday (M. G. Glazebrook, 8), Christmas (K. Lake, 8), Michaelmas (T. Barns, 4), Shrove-Tide (T. Barns, 3) [no separate articles on Lent and Easter].

Art, Christian (G. B. Brown, 15), Symbolism, Christian (J. Gamble, 5), Altars, Christian (H. L. Pass, 3), Cross (d'Alviella, 5); Music, Christian (H. Westerby, 14), Hymns, Christian (various authors, 33).

Feet-washing (G. A. F. Knight, 9), Rosaries (W. S. Blackman, 9) [non-Christian also], Charms and Amulets, Christian (Dobschütz, 17), Token (G. F. Hill, 3).

XIV. *Practical*. Devotion & Devotional Literature (W. M. Scott, 5) [not very penetrating], Experience, Religious (H. M. Hughes, 5), Repentance (S. McComb, 4), Conversion, Christian (J. Strahan, 6) [evangelical], Faith, Christian (W. Morgan, 5), Prayer, Christian, Theology (C. F. D'Arcy, 6), Holiness, N. T. & Christian (R. H. Coats, 7).

Mysticism, Christian (R. M. Jones, 2), Mysticism, Christian, Roman Catholic (J. Chapman, 11) [apologetic], Mysticism, Christian, Protestant (R. M. Jones, 2), Mysticism, Christian, Eastern (K. Grass, 5) [interesting], Enthusiasts (W. T. Whitley, 3); Asceticism, Christian (Zoeckler, 5) [Protestant], Fasting, Christian (Maclean, 6), Celibacy, Christian (G. Cross, 4) [Protestant]; Pilgrimage, Christian (L. D. Agate, 5).

Ethics & Morality, Christian (D. Mackenzie, 7) [systematic, not historical], Casuistry (R. M. Wenley, 8) [not too unsympathetic], Discipline, Christian (D. S. Schaff, 5), Liberty, Christian (R. M. Pope, 4), Love, Christian (J. Strahan, 4), Charity, Christian (C. T. Dimont, 4).

Names, Christian (Moffatt, 6). *Burton S. Easton.*

In an interesting article by Dr. A. H. Godbey, which appeared in the July number, 1923, of the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, entitled "Blood: Marriage Contracts," the author takes issue with Robertson Smith and Wellhausen in what he calls their "ingenious sacramental obsession" and seeks to show that blood is far from having everywhere among primitive peoples the mystical or theological importance often attributed to it. In another paper Dr. Godbey proposes to show what are the rituals in which blood has a definite meaning and purpose. *S. A. B. M.*

The Archbishops of Canterbury and York have appointed a commission to consider the nature and grounds of Christian Doctrine with a view to demonstrating the extent of existing agreement within the Church of England and with a view to investigating how far it is possible to remove or diminish existing differences. *S. A. B. M.*

Bishop Manning recently wrote a masterful paper entitled "Easy divorce a peril to our national life." It is published as No. 6 of the *Bulletin of the Sanctity of Marriage Association*, Dr. Gwynne, Summit, N. J. *S. A. B. M.*

A society called the *Tyson Lectureship Foundation* has been incorporated, with its office at 289 Fourth Ave., New York City.

Its object seems to be to publish the lectures of the Rev. Stuart L. Tyson. *S. A. B. M.*

Wesen und Tragweite der Neutralitätsgestze is the title of an interesting address delivered by Dr. Reinhard v. Frank, Rector of the University of Munich, 1920-21. It is well worth reading. *S. A. B. M.*

Father Hughson has written an unanswerable little essay on *The Anglican Church and Henry VIII*, showing, among other things, how the Church, which Henry is supposed to have founded, was recognized as perfectly orthodox by the popes of his time. *S. A. B. M.*

Tyson's lecture on *The Progressive Revelation of the Bible* contains nothing new but is very well constructed and clearly written. *S. A. B. M.*

A new German theological periodical has just been begun, published by Chr. Kaiser, in Munich, and entitled *Zwischen den Zeiten*. Heft 1 has been received and promises well for the publication. It is edited by Georg Merz. *S. A. B. M.*

The Very Rev. Cyril W. Emmet, dean of University College, Oxford, died suddenly in New York, on July 22nd, of pneumonia. *S. A. B. M.*

REVIEWS

A More Honorable Man. By A. S. Roche. New York: Macmillan, 1922, pp. 290. \$2.

Yellow Butterflies. By M. R. S. Andrews. New York: Scribner, 1922, pp. 73. 75 cents.

A more honorable man is a "failure" while the less honorable is a multi-millionaire. The story begins in a New England town when bicycles were a novelty and ends during the war. The author acts as a chorus chanting the changes in American life within this period.

Yellow Butterflies is a story full of mystical and patriotic sentiment based on the listing of an only son as "missing," the burial of the unknown soldier, and the notion that a butterfly is a symbol of immortality.

A. HAIRE FORSTER

The Things that are Cæsar's. A Defence of Wealth. By G. M. Walker. Fourth edition abridged. New York: A. L. Fowle, 61 Broadway, 1922, pp. 88. 50 cents.

United States Steel: A Corporation with a Soul. By Hon. W. R. Wood. Washington, 1922, pp. 16.

The first pamphlet is heralded as "The book of the century." One enthusiastic reader informs us on the cover that beside it Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations" is mud. Another says that although he has not read it he is sure it is most valuable. In the words of President Lincoln, "For those who like this kind of book, this is the kind of book they will like."

With regard to the speech of the Hon. W. R. Wood, it is exactly as good and as bad as the usual extended remarks of the average member of Congress.

H. MICHELL

St. Bernard of Clairvaux's Life of St. Malachy of Armagh. By H. J. Lawlor, D.D., Litt.D. New York: Macmillan (S. P. C. K.), 1920, pp. lxvi + 183.

Dr. Lawlor has given us a delightful translation of this "Life" which was written within a few months of St. Malachy's death at Clairvaux in 1148. The "Life" gives a very interesting picture of the Church in Ireland at the critical period in its history when its organization and life were being remodelled according to the pattern of the rest of Western Christendom. St. Bernard, of course, writes from the standpoint of one to whom the ordinary Western organization was the only possible one for Christians to use, and he therefore looks askance at the many Celtic peculiarities of the Irish Church. Malachy, as the upholder of Western and Roman organization in Ireland, is a great hero to St. Bernard. Being contemporary, the "Life" is a most valuable historical document. It is interesting to note that, in contrast to so many medieval "Lives of the Saints," the miracles recorded are usually capable of natural explanation.

The value of the document to the ordinary student is greatly increased by the Introduction which gives the history of the "Reformation" in the Irish Church in which Malachy took part.

W. F. WHITMAN

Walter de Wenlok, Abbot of Westminster. By Ernest Harold Pearce, Litt.D., F.S.A., Bishop of Worcester. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920, pp. 236.

This book gives a most detailed account of this abbot, who presided over the troubled and troublesome Abbey of Westminster from 1284-1307. The abbot appears as a man of tireless business energy rather than a spiritual leader. The book, being accurate history, will disappoint both those who regard the medieval monastery as a home of great sanctity and those who suspect it of being a den of vice. The monks who appear in these pages were, above all, busy over the very mundane problems involved in the management of the Abbey estates. The great quarrel between Wenlok and the Prior, Reginald de Hadham, described at length, was primarily a financial quarrel.

Dr. Pearce throws some new light on the "Burglary" of 1303. He makes it probable that the King's Treasury was not in the Chapel of the Pyx, as Dr. Armitage Robinson thought, nor in the crypt of the Chapter House, a view championed by Professor Tout, but in the Prior's chamber near the southeast angle of the Great Cloister. Aside from this point his researches have not cleared up that puzzling occurrence.

The work is based on a most exhaustive study of the Abbey Muniments, the last such study, one judges from the Preface, which is to be hoped for from Dr. Pearce. He has included in the book valuable excerpts from unedited Westminster documents.

W. F. WHITMAN

Further Letters of Richard Meux Benson. Edited by W. H. Longridge. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1920, pp. xiv + 332. \$3.25.

The reader of the first volume of Father Benson's letters, published in 1916, will not be disappointed in this second collection. The larger part of this collection consists of letters written to Father O'Neill, a priest of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, who lived in poverty among the native population in India. It is interesting to see the missionary ideals of this Religious and compare, one will not say contrast, them with the missionary methods usually employed by the Church. "The poorer one's place of lodgement, the better. The less one is like an ordinary English gentleman, the better." Speaking of mission schools Father Benson says, "My bias is not in favour of starting one and I think your apostolic character comes out more clearly without a school. St. Paul evidently had no thought of that kind of work. There must have been the same educational difficulties at Corinth and Ephesus as there are at Indore. Schools are an element of our social superiority. It is a very difficult thing for any people to receive the message of heaven from their earthly social superiors." "I have no belief that public preaching, or controversies, or books are likely to convert people generally." How many missionaries in Father Benson's day had the breadth

of vision shown in the following passages: "We must surely look for Christianity to grow up in India in some very different form from that of the West." "We cannot make the Indian mind start with the Christian faith as the European mind leaves it. Philosophies must rise and fall, and faith start afresh in the new soil of each nation in turn, freed from the systems that have grown up around it in its earlier home."

These letters have many other treasures for the reader besides the views on missionary work. They are full of passages which repay study and meditation. "If we would die to self, we must be careful not to pretend to die, while acting all the while in the consciousness of self-interest." "It is not the written word, nor even the Word hidden in Sacraments, but the Word manifest in our persons which must convert the world."

W. F. WHITMAN

Barnabas, Hermas, and the Didache. By J. Armitage Robinson, D.D. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920, pp. 119. \$2.40.

Dr. Robinson's general views concerning the "Didache" have long been well known. He carefully analyzed its second part in an article in the *Journal of Theological Studies* in 1912 (an article which is reprinted in the Appendix of this volume), and concluded that it contributed almost nothing to the problem of the early Christian ministry. In this present work he takes up the problems presented by the first part of the "Didache." In doing so he gives a careful analysis of both the "Epistle of Barnabas" and the "Shepherd of Hermas." As a result of this analysis he arrives at the following conclusions: (1) the "Two Ways" in the epistle of Barnabas is by the same author as the rest of the epistle; (2) Hermas was acquainted with the "Two Ways" of the epistle of Barnabas. (Incidentally he regards Hermas as the brother of Pius, bishop of Rome, and assigns the period 140-155 as the date of the "Shepherd"); (3) the author of the "Didache" used the "Two Ways" of the epistle of Barnabas with modifications introduced from Hermas; (4) the "Didache" is, therefore, later than Barnabas and Hermas.

It is interesting to compare this last conclusion with that of Loisy in the "Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses" (Vol. VIII, p. 442): "La Didaché, abstraction faite de tel passage probablement interpolé, est . . . moins mêlée que les évangiles synoptiques, et dependent plutôt de leurs sources, qui pourrait être antérieure à la rédaction canonique de Matthieu et de Luc."

In spite of the careful analysis of the contents, style, and vocabulary of the three documents which Dr. Robinson's book gives, it leaves one (as does also Loisy's article), not with a conviction that the problem of the "Didache" has been solved, but with the realization of the truth of Dr. Robinson's own statement, "We all start with our presuppositions and we all find it difficult to abandon conclusions to which our former studies may have led us."

In the Appendix there is an interesting "Table of Parallels" between Barnabas and the "Didache."

W. F. WHITMAN

What the Churches stand for. Oxford: Humphrey Milford, 1922, pp. 112.

These seven lectures, given in a London suburb by representative spokesmen of their respective denominations, furnish the sort of material that must be studied by those who desire to approach the difficult problem of home reunion in anything other than a doctrinaire spirit. Those who face the question, "What is Christianity?" will find here abundant food for thought, for the authors are dealing with fundamentals and refuse to blink at differences that go deep. Nor do they refuse to admit the defects in their own positions. Yet one is startled to find the exponent of Methodism apparently hailing Wesley's conversion as the greatest event in a century which witnessed the French Revolution and the birth of the American Republic!

Of the Nonconformists in the group, only the Presbyterian seems to be conscious of the seriousness of schism, or to approach the Anglican attitude toward unity. One leaves the book with a

feeling that beneath the problem of Order there is another more fundamental still—the problem of the Spirit and His operations.

P. V. NORWOOD

No. 8 of the *Church Historical Pamphlets* (S. P. C. K.) is a sketch of *Walter de Gray*, for forty years Archbishop of York, and one of the greatest English prelates of the thirteenth century, by Dr. H. Lowther Clarke, formerly Archbishop of Melbourne.

P. V. NORWOOD

Twenty-five Consecration Prayers. Edited, with Notes and Introduction, by Arthur Linton. London: S. P. C. K., 1921, pp. xiv + 145.

This useful addition to the series of translations of liturgical texts includes seventeen Eastern anaphoras, the Roman canon of the Mass, the corresponding parts of two Gallican and two Mozarabic Masses, and the consecration prayers of the First Edwardine, Scottish, and Nonjurors' liturgies, but unfortunately without rubrical directions. Perhaps the chief value of the book consists in its putting before English readers examples of the Gallican and Mozarabic liturgies, hitherto difficult of access. The former are translated from the Reichenau Missal (Neale and Forbes' Burntisland edition), the latter from Ferotin's edition of the *Liber Sacramentorum*.

The Introduction is necessarily brief, hardly more than a syllabus. The editor seems committed to what may be called the Benedictine theory of the relation between Roman and Gallican rites; the alternatives are scarcely hinted at. Once or twice economy of language has led to statements which seem to imply more than the editor probably means to say, as when he describes the normal Abyssinian anaphora as that of the Church Order of Hippolytus.

P. V. NORWOOD

The Altar Steps. By Compton Mackenzie. New York: Geo. H. Doran Co., 1922, pp. viii, 374. \$2.00 net.

It is refreshing to find a novel dealing with churchly matters written by an author who has taken the pains to learn his subject.

The story is most interesting and we will not spoil the pleasure of the reader by attempting to summarize it, beyond saying that the book is concerned with the Catholic Movement in the English Church. The disguise of some of the characters, especially Father Rowley, is very thin, and the reader's enjoyment will be enhanced by the slight effort needed to pierce the fictitious name and detect the individual depicted. The only criticism one might make is that a few of the situations are needlessly melodramatic. We await with much interest the appearance of the sequel, "The Parson's Progress."

FRANK H. HALLOCK

Tertullian Concerning the Resurrection of the Flesh. By A. Souter. S. P. C. K., London (The Macmillan Co., New York), 1922, pp. xxiv, 205. \$4.00.

No one who has wrestled with the difficulties of Tertullian's "granitic" style will underestimate the task of translation; but, allowing for these difficulties, Dr. Souter has not produced a readable rendering. Usually Tertullian is followed as closely as may be; an occasional attempt to modernize does not always result happily; "butler's pantries" does not seem a particularly good rendition of *cellas promas* (R. C., 27; Isa. xxvi. 20, *cubicula*, Vulg.). The footnotes are numerous, but they are almost entirely references to Hoppe's *Syntax und Stil des Tertullian*. This is much less a work for the general reader than the preceding volumes in the series (Trans. of Christian Liter.), and far more a work for the specialist. The later will be especially grateful to Dr. Souter for the appendix in which the variant readings of the Troyes (Clairvaux) Mss., discovered by Dom Wilmart in 1916, are given in comparison with the standard text of Kroymann. There are also excellent indices of Biblical references and of Latin words.

FRANK H. HALLOCK

Christian Science and the Catholic Faith. By A. Bellwald. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1922, pp. xvi, 269. \$2.50.

Nothing new in the way of source material will be found in this excellent book; Fr. Bellwald has, in this respect, relied upon

the standard works; but some valuable comparisons of the teachings of Christian Science with those of the Catholic faith are given. The author gives the following among the causes for the success of Christian Science: authority of the founder, novelty—reconciliation of religious-mindedness with wordly prosperity (p. 36), assurance, pseudo-mysticism, half-truths. There is a rather more lengthy treatment than is usual, and this adds to the value of the book, of that remnant of paganism—malicious animal magnetism. Fairness is conspicuous throughout, the author makes a sincere effort to give Christian Science teaching the best interpretation which it can fairly be made to bear. New Thought is also considered incidentally. We may quote one passage because of its wider application to certain dangers within our own communion: "The pragmatism of the modern mind-healing places the emphasis on the wrong values of life. They (sic) assign to bodily health absolutely the highest place" (p. 192).

FRANK H. HALLOCK

Creeds or No Creeds? By Charles Harris. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1922, pp. xxvi, 383. \$6.00.

In the preface Dr. Harris gives the genesis of the present work. "Early in the present year (1921) I was invited by the Society of 'Free Catholics' to meet the Rev. F. E. Hutchinson (author of *Christian Freedom*) at their Annual Conference at Birmingham, and to debate with him the important subject of 'Creeds or no Creeds?' with special reference to the Nicene Creed, regarded as the necessary and sufficient doctrinal basis for the Reunion of Christendom." So we have to thank this Society for the present most important book which has grown out of the debate then held. It became clearly apparent in the course of the debate "that the difference between the Orthodox and the advanced Modernist positions is a difference, not so much of attitude towards particular doctrines as of incompatible philosophies, and indeed of entire *Weltanschauung*" (p. xii). The underlying philosophic

basis for present-day Modernism Dr. Harris finds in the Kantian doctrine of "Immanence" (p. xiii), and gives a complete exposé of what is involved in this doctrine as contained in Kant and as developed by Hegel. The author distinguishes two sorts of Modernism: one conservative, which represents the theological position of the Church of England, "While fully orthodox, it recognizes that the Holy Ghost has still much to teach the Church, and that the Church must not be slow to learn it. It admits development, and yet maintains that the fundamental meaning of the Church's doctrines has never altered" (p. 5). The second, Modernism in the other and generally used sense of the term, must be logical and break entirely with historic Christianity as it abandons belief in the Incarnation and in the basic truths upon which Christianity is founded. The work is not an apologetic but is distinctly polemic in character. Dr. Harris carries the attack into the enemy's country: their procedure makes it possible for the New Testament to teach "almost anything" (p. 43); the outcome "is in effect a choice between Rationality and Irrationality as world-principles" (p. 64).

To single out particular parts for especial mention is a difficult task in a work which has so much of value, but to the present reviewer Chap. VIII, concerned with Miracles, is most suggestive, whether or no we accept the author's views in their entirety. Chap. IX deals mainly with the question of the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel.

F. H. HALLOCK

What's Best Worth Saying. By Richard Roberts. New York: Doran, 1922, pp. 131. \$1.25 net.

This book contains a series of ten addresses most of which were originally delivered to college students. Generally they are interesting rather than deep, in fact they are somewhat superficial in places. The author asks that they be judged "not as recording final conclusions but as reporting the present aspect of a search." There is abundant room for further search; for the most part

the subjects are dogmatic, seldom unorthodox, they are frequently unsatisfying. In the first address a perverse view of the function of Creeds is set forth. Mr. Well's God seems to suffice for the theological aspirations of the author. No ingenuity of thinking or phraseology can justify the phrase "both Athanasius and Arius were right" (p. 72). On the whole, dogma appears to be conceived as a bondage of the reason rather than a guide of human thinking. Still occasionally a fresh method of presenting the subjects treated makes the book as a whole worth reading.

F. H. HALLOCK

Storm and Sunshine in South Africa. By A. Theodore Wirgman. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1922, pp. xv, 339. \$2.60 net.

"The Church of South Africa has had as stormy a history as South Africa itself, and this by no fault of the Church. Vital principles were at stake, veiled by lesser issues. Upon the weak and poverty-stricken Church in South Africa fell the burden of winning the freedom of the Anglican communion in the Colonies from the fetters of the Establishment" (p. 101). These sentences illustrate the importance of the work, and the one who tells the story has had first-hand intimate knowledge for forty years. In addition to the abundant source material for the construction of South African Church history, there are many recollections of the author giving interesting glimpses of those notable for one reason or another with whom he came into contact. There are also some very outspoken comments upon English political policy in South Africa. Not least in interest is what the writer has to say about Bishop Colenso; commonly he is regarded as a martyr to the cause of the "Higher Criticism" of the Old Testament. "There were nine charges against him, only two of which referred to his views on the Old Testament. The other charges referred to his heresies upon the Incarnation and the Atonement" (p. 37, see also pp. 81 and 194).

F. H. HALLOCK

Immortality and the Modern Mind. The Ingersoll Lecture. By Kirsopp Lake. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1922, pp. 51. \$1.00 net.

"For the hope of an ultimate happy state on this planet to be enjoyed by future generations—or of some state, at least, that may relatively be considered happy—has replaced, as a social power, the hope of felicity in another world." So writes Professor Bury in the preface to his important book on the Idea of Progress, and it is really this statement which Dr. Kirsopp Lake emphasises and elaborates in his lecture. "The pursuit of a better world for another generation to inherit," says Dr. Lake, "has become the surrogate for the hope of a better world above for ourselves to enjoy." On the whole Dr. Lake does not regret the change. It has raised rather than lowered the standard of life. The new attitude in which a man's work is of more importance than his soul has greater social value than the sanctified selfishness which it has replaced.

It is hardly possible, however, that we can remain long in this position. It is based on a materialistic interpretation of life. A more spiritual philosophy is already bringing back the hope of immortality though not indeed in its old form which was, as Dean Inge rightly maintains, not good enough to be true. In the latter part of this lecture Dr. Lake draws a distinction between life and living and expounds a mystical theory which at times reminds one of the inexhaustible conception of Eternal Life in the Fourth Gospel. He views with evident favour a tendency to believe in the Immortality of Life which does not entail the perpetuation of individuality. In spite of this apparent surrender of what is usually called Personal Immortality, we do not believe that Professor Lake endorses the secularist belief, or lack of belief, in the future to which he calls attention as one of the outstanding characteristics of modern life. The relation of Eternal Life and the survival of the individual raises some of the most difficult philosophical problems and these still await their solution. The world of our time may have turned away from the quest for Immortality in favour of a new attitude towards life,

but we are very far from having heard the last word on the subject.

F. H. COSGRAVE

The Moral Life, a Study of Moral and Religious Personality. By James Ten Broeke. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922, pp. x-244.

This book is interesting more for what it intimates than for anything it has to contribute. If Professor Ten Broeke represents the "kind of thing" taught in their colleges and seminaries, it is small wonder that average Protestant preachers have lost grip on fundamentals, as many allege.

There are three parts, unevenly divided: Part I, The Moral and Religious Consciousness (pp. 143); Part II, The Religious Consciousness (pp. 43); Part III, Philosophy of Morals and Religion (pp. 35). Part II is by far the best; Part III is not so good by comparison; while, in Part I, the trail of the psychological serpent leaves too many traces of somewhat unoriginal sin. Although the book is pedestrian, lacking hold upon ultimate problems, it may have a certain use. It is well informed after a fashion, presenting an array—possibly a jumble—of "authorities" and near authorities. In this respect its value is diminished by the number of niggling inaccuracies revealed in the notes.

I should like to quote one real thinker, whom Dr. Ten Broeke does not enlist. "The best way of attaining to correct opinions on most metaphysical subjects is by finding out what has been said on any given point by the psychologists, and then by saying the very opposite." Ferrier's ironical reminder, never more apposite than now, hints the main reason for the strenuous ineffectuality of this book. Perhaps, some day, Dr. Ten Broeke may summon courage to call his soul his own. Meanwhile, he has been chasing religion, and scaring it to death by flourish of—well, let us take refuge in the suggestiveness of the Latin, and say, *numena!*

R. M. WENLEY

Rabbinic Wisdom. By Jennie Reizenstein. Cincinnati: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1921, pp. 210.

This is a collection of stories culled from Rabbinic Literature, of special interest to children, and imparting ethical instruction as well as the idea of firm fidelity to Judaism. They are, of course, full of that quaint charm of the Near East, the land of parables and the land of faith. Many of these stories would be of special interest to Christian teachers, because of their great similarity to the NT parables. Books like this help them to realize what kind of stories were told in Nazareth homes and schools, in the days of Christ, and it would make their teaching truer and probably more real. Besides, we all should learn more about the Jews, and their ideals, and hope that the American Hebrew Congregations will be able to preserve the ancient treasures of Israel. There probably would be less antisemitism if there was less unbelief among Jews—and more faith among us.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

The Religions of Mankind. By E. D. Soper. New York: Abingdon Press, 1921, pp. 344.

Professor Soper's book is the best handbook of Comparative Religion we have now. It is not as bulky as Moore's two volumes and it is more complete, since it has a chapter on primitive religions. The order of chapters is also better than that of Moore. Professor Soper for instance does not take up Chinese Buddhism before he tells us of the Life of Buddha, as Moore did. There is to Professor Soper's book a distinctively Christian tone. No doubt he will be criticized on that account in certain quarters, where one is apt to forget that, were it not for the fact that there are men studying for the Christian ministry, there would not be any interest in Comparative Religion. We also like Professor Soper's bibliographies because they do not include too many items. He does not tell us there of all the books he has read or should have read, but of those with which a good student should get acquainted. The author includes a chapter on Christianity; that

was necessary because of the author's point of view; may we not also add that it is now quite necessary in America to have a chapter on Christianity in books of that kind since a large percentage of college students belong to another Semitic religion. Dr. Soper advises the student who wants to go deeper into the subject to read Moore's two volumes, and this is as it should be. Moore of course is *the* guide but the book given us by Dr. Soper is the best book to place in the hands of a beginner. We congratulate the author for not giving evidence of any fad, and for not openly cherishing any pet theory. This is a feature that spoils, for instance, Jeremiahs' *Religiongeschichte* which is, apart from that, as good an introduction to the subject as Soper's. The chapter on the religion of primitive peoples leaves one without a clear view of the subject, but, perhaps, the subject demands it.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

A Study of "Monarchical" Tendencies in the United States, from 1776 to 1801. University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. X, No. 1. By Louise B. Dunbar. Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1922, pp. 164. \$2.25.

A careful investigation leads the author to the following results:

I. There is reason to believe that several plans of monarchical character received serious consideration in the United States between 1776 and 1787.

II. The character of the men associated with them entitles these plans to considerable attention.

III. The existence of monarchical purposes in the Constitutional Convention is largely a matter of definition.

IV. The exigencies of practical politics after 1787 account for much but not all of the current suspicion regarding monarchical tendencies from 1787 to 1801.

V. Nearly all the evidence observed reinforces the belief that the people of the United States were essentially antimonarchical in the period studied.

A bibliography of fifteen pages is an appendix to the book.

A. HAIRE FORSTER

How I Lost My Job as a Preacher. By J. D. M. Buckner. Aurora, Nebraska, 1922, p. 63.

Mr. Buckner was a power for righteousness in every community where he exercised the ministry as a Methodist Minister. He was left recently without a charge by his bishop. In a circular sent to us with this booklet his case was presented as parallel to that of Bishop Brown among us. We think that the comparison hurts Mr. Buckner's cause. As a member of another church, we have no right to be a judge between a minister and his bishop. It seems to us that while Mr. Buckner did a good work as a champion of truth, he was dwelling too much on unimportant details in the O. T., like the episode in 1 Sam. 6, 19 where text criticism does away with the stumbling block. A preacher's job (if we may use the term) is to set forth the cross of Christ as a power to save, not to go around Calvary hill with a microscope looking for germs.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Prayers for Private and Family Use. By Charles L. Slattery. New York: Macmillan, 1922, pp. 181. \$1.00.

We are very grateful to Bishop Slattery for these prayers which he composed while he was rector of Grace Church. They are noble and human, clear and inspiring, modern and yet rooted in the faith of the Church. The prayers for little children and for boys at school are gems. Really the value of the book is beyond price.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

The World's Great Religious Poetry. Compiled by Caroline M. Hill. New York: Macmillan, 1923, pp. xxxix + 836. \$5.

The great majority of these poems are by British and American writers though many translations are included. In order to show the 'Catholicity' of the book it is enough to mention that Æschylus, the Iroquois Indians, Ibsen, Watts, Tagore, Isaiah, Byron are among the authors: the absence of Euripides,

one of the most 'modern' of religious poets, is remarkable. The poems are collected under twelve subjects such as Faith, Prayer, &c. There are several minor misprints not worth a reference but 'heavenly' for 'heavy' in Trench's sonnet on Prayer spoils both the metre and the sense. As the book contains many popular hymns, the editor prudently warns us in the preface that in the collection are many poems that are far from being great. There are three indexes—to Authors, Titles and First Lines.

A. HAIRE FORSTER

The Nature of Scripture. By A. S. Peake. New York: Doran Company, 1922, pp. 296. \$2.00 net.

This book contains a collection of papers and lectures mainly concerned with the nature and value of Scripture as it appears to students who combine an acceptance of critical method with loyalty to the faith. Most of the papers were written for Conferences, and have appeared in print before. While there is nothing new in these lectures, whatever Professor Peake has written has been done with clearness and force. Perhaps the most valuable of these chapters are those which have to do with the Permanent Value of the Old Testament. The book is highly recommended to laymen, and also to the clergy for general reading.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Specimens of Biblical Literature. By James Muilenburg. New York: Crowell Company, 1923, pp. xxxviii + 413. \$2.50 net.

Mr. Muilenburg herein attempts to indicate the main literary types in the Bible, to place before the student a portion of a literature which is only now beginning to receive its proper recognition in schools and colleges, and to furnish a literary guide to the great product of the Hebrew genius. In this he has succeeded exceedingly well. He divides his book into narrative, poetry, reflection, essay, prophecy, gospel, oratory, and letters. Specimens of these types of literature are presented in their proper literary form. The work is furnished with a series of notes,

hints are provided, and parallel readings are suggested. The book should be very useful to schools and colleges.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Old Testament Life and Literature. By I. G. Matthews. New York: Macmillan Company, 1923, pp. 342.

This is an excellently written and well-arranged introduction to the ancient world as it was known to Israel. The author gives a good résumé of what we know of ancient civilization, of the geography of Palestine, and of ancient literary methods. He then follows the destinies of the Hebrew and Jewish people from the time of the Patriarchs to the end of the Greek period. Then come a good discussion of the Old Testament Canon, and a helpful chronological chart. The bibliography omits many books which I should have been inclined to include in such a volume—but that is a matter of taste. The volume ought to be found very helpful to all students of the Old Testament.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Geschichte der israelitischen und jüdischen Religion. Von Gustav Hölscher. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1922, pp. 267. \$1.70.

Professor Hölscher, the well-known Old Testament scholar, has herein presented to the world a splendid book. Both he is to be congratulated, and also Töpelmann who has published this work as volume 7 of his *Theologie im Abriss*. After a preface in which he indicates his position, especially in regard to the analysis and date of Deuteronomy and of Jeremiah, he introduces his book very briefly by furnishing a handy chronological background for his subject. Chapter one gives in clear and concise form a study in religious origins, in which the author rightly differentiates between the "shadow" and the "breath" ideas of the soul. Chapter two deals with the earliest period of Old Testament religion. It is full of interesting suggestions, especially those dealing with the development of the idea of fear of hell and with the origin of prayer and sacrifice. Hölscher prefers an earlier date than the time of Rameses II and Merneptah.

for the Exodus, without sufficient consideration of the manner of the Exodus. In dealing with the earlier great prophets in chapter three, the author commits himself to the theory that Amos was a monotheist, but wisely notes that the idea was fully developed at a later time. In the fourth chapter, the author realizes the difficulty of dating Ezra before Nehemiah; but his finest work is to be found in his sections on morals and eschatology. The fifth chapter deals with the Greek period, and is in many respects the finest in the book, although the last chapter, on the Roman period, has excellent sections on the schools in Judaism. A fine index brings this valuable work to a close.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch in the Church of Egypt. By J. F. Rhode. Washington: Catholic University of America, 1921, pp. 121 + 63.

This is a thesis, which was submitted to the Faculty of Letters of the Catholic University of America in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. It is a study based on eighteen Arabic and Copto-Arabic MSS. of the 9-17 century, which are now in the National Library in Paris, in the Vatican and Bodleian Libraries, and in the British Museum. The author points out that in the Cambridge LXX no mention whatever is made of the Arabic translations of the Pentateuch, and suggests that this is to be explained by the vague and imperfect knowledge of Arabic versions of the scriptures, especially those which represent the Greek version of the Old Testament. He also notes, what is true, namely, that the Christian-Arabic versions of the Pentateuch present a field practically unexplored up to the present time.

In part one Dr. Rhode gives a full description and comparative study of these manuscripts, grouping them and showing their mutual relationship, and concluding that there must have been in use in the Church of Egypt two distinct Arabic versions of the Pentateuch, that these two versions were most likely officially recognized translations, and that the Christians of Egypt made

use of other Arabic versions for collating and supplementing their sacred volumes.

Part two contains the texts very carefully edited and printed. This whole thesis is a fine scholarly piece of work, and is thoroughly reliable.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Psalterium Juxta Hebræos Hieronymi. Edited by J. M. Harden. London and New York: Macmillan Company, 1922, pp. xxviii + 196.

St. Jerome made three versions of the Psalter, the third of which was a translation from the Hebrew, and is usually called the Hebrew Psalter, in contrast to the other two which are called the Roman and Gallican. The *editio princeps* of the Hebrew Psalter appeared about 1473, and many editions have appeared since. Harden's object in this book has been to give the evidence as to the true text of the Psalter furnished by some of the earliest manuscripts in which it is contained. The editor gives a complete list of the manuscripts which he collated for this edition, and gives detailed information as to the methods of textual criticism followed.

Dr. Harden makes some interesting remarks: He says that he is convinced that the text translated by St. Jerome at the end of the fourth century was substantially the same as our present Masoretic text. Then after a list of abbreviations and symbols used, he gives the text, which is printed in a very clear and careful fashion. Students will be grateful for this excellent edition.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Responsive Scriptures for Worship in Church and Home. New York: Association Press, 1922, pp. 98. \$1.25.

This is an excellent topical arrangement of some of the finer passages in the Bible for responsive reading, the purpose being to deepen the devotional spirit. It is the outcome of a desire on the part of non-liturgical Christians to provide what their services usually lack. The book is well printed and ought to prove useful.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

The Divinity of Christ in the New Testament. By Herbert Williams, M.A.
Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. \$2.00.

The design of the writer is "to vindicate the doctrine of the Incarnation of the Word of God as belonging to Holy Scripture, and, therefore, inferentially to the creed of Christian Evangelisation." The polemic is directed against "Unitarians" and is largely carried on by a massing of proof texts. This, in its way, has a value, and may be effective in influencing some of those for whom it is intended. Such a method, however, makes no contribution whatever to the discussion of the matter in the light of modern research. No scholar denies that the writers of the New Testament, notably St. Paul and St. John, look upon Christ as God. The attempt rather is to go behind the documents, the earliest of which were written about twenty years after the Ascension, and to discover what was the really primitive views. That is the urgent question of the moment and it is being answered in different ways.

Our author's exegesis is sometimes quite blind. He endeavors to prove from Psalm 2:12 and Daniel 3:25 that "a Son of God was acknowledged in the theology of the Old Testament, with evidently a divine character attaching to Him." He discusses the meaning of "Son of Man" in the Gospel record without any mention of the Book of Enoch; and he appears to have no thought of the difficulties that surround the conception of "Person" in Trinitarian Doctrine. In a word, he lives in a world apart, and while Gore and Headlam may help us, we shall look in vain to the book under review.

We wish we were able to commend the general atmosphere of the volume, but unfortunately the writer has never learned the secret of musical English, or the still more important Apostolic art of speaking the truth in love.

C. V. PILCHER

Great Penitents. By Hugh F. Blunt. New York: Macmillan, 1922, pp. 245. \$1.00.

"Penitence and gloom are not necessarily synonymous. It would be a mistake to think of the great exemplars of sorrow for sin as useless mourners kneeling in the corner, beating their breasts, with ear for nothing but their own lamentations" (p. 31). This might serve as a thesis for the present work, a thesis abundantly sustained by the examples, eleven in all, which the author gives. These include founders of orders and communions, literary men, musicians, sculptors, the best known generally being Francois Coppée, J. K. Huysmans, Paul Verlaine. The book might be truly called a novelty, the present reviewer knows of no other to place in the same class. It supplies a mass of material for the study of the psychology of penitence and conversion, though the word "psychology" is rarely, if at all, used. It is also a valuable corrective of that type of thought which is inclined to underrate, if not deplore, the value of penitence. Readable, as a well-written novel, it will be found most useful, also, to preachers seeking practical illustration of the power and utility of conversion.

F. H. HALLOCK

I believe in God and in Evolution. By William W. Keen. Philadelphia and London: Lippincott Company, 1922, pp. 102. \$1.00.

An eminent surgeon herein shows how undeniable is the truth of man's relationship with the lower animals, yet in the end how closely linked are the tenets of Christianity with those of Evolution. He makes a clear distinction between Darwinism and Evolution. The book is most timely in its appearance, and marshalls most convincing evidence to prove that a man may believe in God and in Christianity and at the same time in Evolution.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

A Short History of Christian Theophagy. By Preserved Smith. Chicago: The Open Court Pub. Co., 1922, pp. 223. \$2.00.

The title of this book would be less repulsive if "Christian" were omitted from it, but it is quite properly named, for the author considers ethnic beliefs only in the first chapter, termed "Præparatio Evangelica." From odds and ends which can hardly escape an occasional parallel the conclusion is immediately drawn that there must in all cases be a direct connection between the Mystery religions and Christian Eucharistic doctrine. As a whole, the book represents a type of thought which makes the science of Comparative Religion a stench in the nostrils of those who still strive to maintain a union of sanity and orthodoxy. The author caricatures Catholic doctrine, assertion takes the place of argument, the most extravagant rhetorical phrases from the Fathers are quoted without any indication of the corrective which their own teaching, taken in its entirety, supplies. Apart from misinterpretations which naturally, considering the writer's viewpoint, appear on almost every page, there are numerous errors in matters of fact, *e.g.*, the statement that the Roman Church requires confession before every Communion (p. 86). About half the book is devoted to a study of the Eucharistic teaching of the Sixteenth century Continental Reformers, here only the author appears to have made a first-hand study of his subject. A very slight and superficial chapter is given to the teaching of the English Church. Among the minor faults we may note an entire misapprehension of the Calvinistic teaching of Receptionism. A key to the whole position may be found in an incidental statement on p. 159, "both parties started from a false premise, namely, that reason and Scripture could be reconciled." The author's gross materialistic view, never held except by a small and obscure sect, can be reconciled with neither. We should note also that the Sacrament was instituted by St. Paul, Christ could have known nothing of it according to our author's hypothesis.

F. H. HALLOCK

The Golden Bough. A Study in Magic and Religion. By Sir James George Frazer. New York: Macmillan Company, 1922, pp. 752. \$5.00.

The author has here abridged into one volume that mass of lore given to the world some years ago, under the same title, namely, *The Golden Bough*. The aim of the author has been to explain the rule which regulated the succession to the priesthood of Diana at Aricia, and this aim has led him into many regions and parts of the world to gather evidence. There is hardly any important point in the subject of comparative religions which the author does not treat with insight and learning. Naturally, there are many places where a specialist, in any one branch of the great subject treated by Frazer, would differ with the author. For example, his treatment of Egyptian sacrifices leaves much to be desired, as does also his discussion of the "Marriage of the Gods." His interpretation of the "taking of the hand of Marduk" is likewise open to objection, and his equation of the Greek *cinyra* = Semitic *kinnor* is fanciful. These are only a few of the numerous cases where difference of opinion may be registered. However, it is a distinct convenience to have so many of Frazer's theories, and some of the material upon which he bases them, placed in such handy form. He concluded that the priest of Aricia was one of those sacred kings or human divinities on whose life the welfare of the community is believed to be dependent, and that the Golden Bough was the mistletoe seen through a haze of poetry and of popular superstition.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Politics. By Frank Exline. New York: Dutton & Company, 1922, pp. 226.

In this interesting book the author shows how fundamentally undemocratic our government still is and points out the inherent defects common to all present forms of government. He then offers a plan for a political system which will automatically produce the best government possible in any community. In his discussion of the way in which the capacities and qualities of every citizen may be recorded and tabulated, the Church may learn much

in view of her need of a means of recording and tabulating the capacities and qualities of her clergy, in order that the right man may be placed in the right position.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

The Religion of Our Lord. By the Rt. Rev. C. P. Anderson. Milwaukee: Morehouse Publishing Company, 1923, pp. 51. \$0.85.

This little book contains the Lenten Noon-Day addresses delivered at the Garrick Theatre in Chicago and at the Pabst Theatre in Milwaukee in 1923. There are five addresses, entitled: Religion and Civilization, Religion and Race, Religion and Politics, Religion and Business, and Religion and the Church. They are all characterized by their clearness in thought and conciseness in expression. They are full of manly religion and keep in excellent proportion first the Fatherhood of God and secondly the Brotherhood of Man. Bishop Anderson does not lose sight of the fact that this world is theocentric, but with an eye to man's well-being.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Preaching and Sermon Construction. By Paul B. Bull. New York: Macmillan Company, 1922, pp. 315.

It has been generally conceded—and the writer of this review concurs in that opinion—that Father Bull has produced one of the best books ever written on preaching. It is not as systematic as Garvie's, but it has meat, it inspires, it appeals. This book, together with Garvie's, is quite sufficient as an introduction to be placed in the hands of students. The headings of chapters fail to reveal the richness of material which they contain, and no review could do justice to the splendid book. My advice is to get it and read it.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Our Common Faith: A Symposium. Geo. H. Doran, 1923; *Religious Foundations:* Edited by Rufus M. Jones, Macmillan, 1923.

To reinterpret in the light of present-day knowledge the great central fundamental problems of religion is the aim of each of

these books, and both of them furnish very valuable material to clergy and laity alike.

In Advent, 1921, Canon Dorrity of St. Ann's Church, Manchester, invited five Nonconformist ministers, representing as many different denominations, to preach on successive Friday afternoons. The subjects assigned were the different clauses of the Apostles' Creed. The addresses were of a high order and are now published in this volume under the title "*Our Common Faith*."

"Not one of the preachers saw the notes of the others' addresses before they were delivered. Yet Congregationalists, Baptist, Presbyterian, and Methodist, speaking as well as they were able the things of their faith, discovered no cleavage and challenged no belief held by the people of the Church in which they preached." The addresses are not remarkable, but they are worth reading once.

Religious Foundations is a more substantial book though it is about the same size—140 pp. "What shall we think of God?" "And of Christ?" "And of man?" These are the questions considered by Professor Rufus M. Jones, of Haverford College, in the first three chapters. "What shall we think of Nature?" is treated by Dean Sperry of the Harvard Divinity School. "How shall we think of Society and Human Relationships?" is treated by B. Seebom Rowntree of York, England. "How shall we think of the Kingdom of God?" by A. Clutton-Brock of London; "What shall we think of the Bible?" by Elihu Grant, Professor of Biblical Literature in Haverford; "How shall we think of Evil?" by L. P. Jacks, Editor of *The Hibbert Journal*; "How shall we think of Progress?" by Professor Lyman of Union Theological Seminary; and "How shall we think of Life after Death?" by Professor F. G. Peabody of Harvard.

"There has been no attempt made to direct the different authors or to force the book into a harmony of position. Each penman was free. But there is a striking unity of outlook and insight, and an organic correlation of all the parts, so that the

book is an integral whole." The writers represent widely varied schools of thought but they are all of them serious, reverent, competent thinkers who find

"One adequate support
For the calamities of mortal life—
One only: an assured belief
That the procession of our fate, howe'er
Sad or disturbed, is ordered by a Being
Of infinite benevolence and power;
Whose everlasting purposes embrace
All accidents, converting them to good."

GEO. CRAIG STEWART

BOOKS RECEIVED

PSYCHOLOGY OF RELIGION

- Christianity and Psychology.* By F. R. Barry. New York: Doran, 1923, pp. 195. \$1.50 net.
- Recent Psychology and The Christian Religion.* Some Points of Contact and Divergence. By C. E. Hudson. New York: Doran, 1923, pp. 124. \$1.35 net.
- The Psychology of Power.* By J. A. Hadfield. New York: Macmillan, 1923, pp. vi + 54. 75 cents.

NEW TESTAMENT

- The Apostle Paul and the Modern World.* By F. G. Peabody. New York: Macmillan, 1923, pp. x + 284. \$2.50.
- New Testament Greek for Beginners.* By J. G. Machen. New York: Macmillan, 1923, pp. xii + 285. \$2.20.
- The New Testament Today.* New edition. By E. F. Scott. New York: Macmillan, pp. 92. 75 cents.
- Toward the Understanding of Jesus.* By V. G. Sunkhovitch. New York: Macmillan, 1921, pp. vi + 83. 75 cents.
- The Bible for School and Home.* Vols. V and VI. *The Gospel Story.* By J. Paterson Smyth. New York: Doran, 1923, pp. xvi + 168 and xvi + 181. \$1.25 net each.
- The Eucharist in St. Paul.* By S. L. Tyson. New York: Macmillan, 1923, pp. 66. 75 cents.
- The Beloved Disciple.* By A. E. Garvie. New York: Doran, 1922, pp. xxviii + 267. \$2.00 net.
- Studies in the Teaching of the Sermon on the Mount.* By A. W. Robinson. New York: Doran, 1923, pp. 106. \$1.75 net.

MISCELLANEOUS

- Anglican Essays.* A Collective Review of the Principles and Special Opportunities of the Anglican Communion as Catholic and Reformed. By the Archbishop of Armagh and others. New York: Macmillan, 1923, pp. x + 337.
- Christian Ways of Salvation.* By G. W. Richards. New York: Macmillan, 1923, pp. ix + 332. \$2.50.
- Christianity and Liberalism.* By J. G. Machen. New York: Macmillan, 1923, pp. 188. \$1.75.
- Heaven and Hell in Comparative Religion with Special Reference to Dante's*

- "Divine Comedy." By Kaufmann Kohler. New York: Macmillan, 1923, pp. xix + 158. \$1.50.
- Spirit and Personality.* An Essay in Theological Interpretation. By W. S. Bishop. New York: Longmans, 1923, pp. x + 188. \$1.50.
- Acts of Devotion.* New York: Macmillan (S. P. C. K.), pp. 55. 7 pence.
- Five Centuries of Religion.* Vol. I. St. Bernard, His Predecessors and Successors, 1000-1200 A.D. By G. G. Coulton. New York: Macmillan (Camb. Univ. Press), 1923, pp. xliii + 578. 30/-.
- Our Common Faith.* A Symposium. Addresses by five Nonconformists, delivered by invitation of the Rector in St. Ann's Church, Manchester, during December, 1921. New York: Doran, pp. 136. \$1.25.
- One Hundred Best Sermons For Special Days and Occasions* with accompanying Cyclopædia of choice illustrations. Compiled and Edited by G. B. F. Hallock. New York: Doran, 1923, pp. 552. \$2.50.
- Some Aspects of Contemporary Greek Orthodox Thought.* The Hale Lectures. By F. Gavin. Milwaukee: Morehouse, pp. xxxiv + 430.
- The Moral Life of the Hebrews.* By J. M. Powis Smith. Univ. of Chicago Press, 1923, pp. viii + 337. \$2.25.
- Marie De L. Agnus Dei.* By M. P. Hill. New York: Macmillan, 1923, pp. xxi + 345. \$2.25.
- Official Year Book of the Church of England, 1923.* S. P. C. K. (Macmillan), pp. xxxix + 640.
- The Growth of a Mission. Sagada, 1904-1922.* By A. E. Trost. Sagada: The Igorot Press. Pp. 10.
- Open Price Associations.* Univ. of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences. By M. N. Nelson. Pp. 240. \$1.75.
- Das Wesen des Judentums.* von Leo Baeck. Dritte Auflage. Frankfurt: Kauffmann, 1923, pp. x + 327.
- Die kirchlichen Wiedervereinigungsbestrebungen der Nachkriegszeit.* von Georg Pfeilshifter. München: Pfeiffer and Co., 1923, pp. 43.
- Constitution and Canons.* By H. A. Wilson. Oxford U. Press, American Branch, New York, 1923. \$4.20.
- Daily Service.* Edition of 1923. Milwaukee: Morehouse Publishing Co., 1923.
- Prayer Book Amendments, 1922.* Ed by C. M. Davis. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1923.
- Proposed Revision of the Book of Common Prayer.* Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1923.

